


THE BAPTISM OF THE APOSTLES

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This study is in substance identical with a paper read at the "Symposium on Byzantine Liturgy and Music" at Dumbarton Oaks in April 1954. Only after returning the galley proofs to the Press did I receive the news that on December 7, 1955, Manfred Bukofzer died at the age of forty-five. The present volume of *Papers* is dedicated to the memory of a venerable scholar and venerated colleague of whose presence the Dumbarton Oaks community has been deprived, but I do not want this Paper to appear without also commemorating the name of the friend who inspired it: MANFRED BUKOFZER.

E. H. K.


 UERIES originating in a field of knowledge outside that of one's own studies often have the effect of a stimulant. Professor Manfred Bukofzer, my friend and formerly my colleague at Berkeley, chanced, in a Huntington Library manuscript, upon a musicologically interesting passage. His findings prompted him to raise the question whether the so-called *Mandatum* — the ritual Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday — had any significance beyond the obvious one of establishing the supreme example of humility and charity. Since the performance of that ceremonious laving projected into the political sphere, in so far as it was practiced in the later Middle Ages by Byzantine emperors and Western kings,¹ the present author happened to be vaguely acquainted with the problem itself and ventured to say that the rite might have something to do with the "Baptism of the Apostles." Only after delving much more deeply into the matter, however, did it become apparent how involved the problem actually was. Many strands of a diffused tradition had to be drawn to a common center in order to answer with some precision the musicological question of Professor Bukofzer, who could anticipate and briefly summarize in a recent study some results of the present investigation.²

I

An Epiphany antiphon of the Eastern Church, which drifted along with similar chants into the Western *Liber responsalis*, refers to the institution of the Sacrament of Baptism:

Today the sting of sin has been broken, the Lord has been baptized, and regeneration has been given to us.³

¹ See below, n. 160.

² Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), 238, n. 47. While it stands to reason that my own remarks on the musicological aspects of the *Mandatum* — briefly discussed, as they are, at the end of this paper — rely entirely upon Professor Bukofzer's investigations, I wish to emphasize that in other respects also I am indebted to him for several valuable hints. My thanks go further to Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr., Dr. Ralph E. Giesey, Dr. Rosalie B. Green, Mrs. Dora Panofsky, Professor Kurt Weitzmann, and Dr. Schafer Williams, from whose help, advice, suggestions, and assistance I greatly profited. Several photographs were kindly placed at my disposal by the Department of Art and Archeology of Princeton University (figs. 40, 51, 52, 55), by Professor Weitzmann (figs. 17a-b, 24, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 53), by Professor Friend (fig. 44) and by the Morgan Library, in New York (figs. 16, 25).

³ *Liber responsalis*, In octavas Theophaniae, *PL.*, LXXVIII, 744 B: "Peccati aculeus conteretur hodie, baptizato Domino; et nobis data est regeneratio." For Eastern patterns, see *Rituale Armenorum*, ed. F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1905), for example, p. 418, n. 13; 426, n. 23; also 186, nos. 40, 43, 32. For the general scheme, see the *σήμερον* (*hodie*) antiphons described by A. Baumstark, "Die *Hodie*-Antiphonen des römischen Breviers und der Kreis ihrer griechischen Parallelen," *Die Kirchenmusik*, X (1909-1910), 153-160; also Egon Wellesz,

There is nothing really remarkable in this text; for nothing would seem more natural than to link the institution of the Sacrament of Regeneration with the Baptism of Christ in Jordan, that is, with the feast of Epiphany. What appears most natural, however, is not always what happens in history. Festal calendars, establishing the liturgical year of a political or religious community, have their peculiar difficulties in all religions – pre-Christian, non-Christian, and Christian alike. Those calendars are conditioned, practically everywhere, by the cycles of nature as well as by the annual recurrence of mythically or historically memorable events – *proprium de tempore* and *proprium sanctorum*. But the efforts to force those two species of festivals into coincidence have frequently obscured the original reference point of an anniversary. The later Roman calendars such as the *Feriale Duranum* or the *Calendar of 354* demonstrate those difficulties time and time again, and the calendar of the Christian liturgical year does not form an exception.⁴ We need think only of the complicated history of the feast of Christmas, that is, the introduction of December 25th as the Nativity of Christ in the Western and Eastern Churches, to understand the interference of natural cycles with historical commemorations.⁵ Moreover, as a result of the general spiritualization of Christian religious thought, the commemorative dates of anniversaries were often subordinated to other considerations – spiritual, speculative, mystical, or local – and thus it happened that the date of the institution of the Sacrament of Baptism also could begin to fluctuate.

To be sure, the Epiphany date remained valid as that of the institution of baptism, and as such it was observed at all times in the Eastern Churches. However, even in the East this anniversary date was in competition with the

Eastern Elements in Western Chant (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia II; Oxford, 1947), 141 ff. See also Hieronymus Frank OSB, "Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est ecclesia," *Vom Christlichen Mysterium: Gesammelte Arbeiten zum Gedächtnis von Odo Casel* OSB (Düsseldorf, 1951), 192–226, who admits the Eastern (Syrian) background of the famous Epiphany antiphon though claiming that the composition of the chant was Roman. No less interesting than the question when and how those Eastern chants got into the Western *Liber responsalis* is the question when and how they were eliminated from the Western *responsoria*.

⁴ For the *Feriale Duranum*, see R. O. Fink, O. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, in: *Yale Classical Studies*, VII (1940); A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLV (1952), 187–252; and, for the *Calendar of 354*, the recent monograph by Henri Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, LV; Paris, 1953), which in many respects may be called final.

⁵ For the problem of Christmas, see the *bibliographie raisonnée* by Hieronymus Frank, "Frühgeschichte und Ursprung des römischen Weihnachtsfestes im Lichte neuerer Forschung," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1952), 1–24, to whom unfortunately the valuable study by Dom Anselm Strittmatter, "Christmas and Epiphany: Origins and Antecedents," *Thought*, XVII (1942), 600–626, remained inaccessible. For a few additional texts on Epiphany, see Theodor E. Mommsen, "Aponius and Orosius on the Significance of Epiphany," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Matthias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), 96–111.

other great religious ideas which made different dates no less important. The Pauline baptism "into the Death and Resurrection of Christ," as well as the pentecostal Descent of the Spirit conferring the spiritual baptism, were the "great religious ideas" ⁶ which detracted from the calendar anniversary of the Jordan events; and, whereas the ideas of Easter and Pentecost were merely rivals of the idea of Epiphany in the Oriental Churches, they definitely prevailed in the West — all the more so since here the feast of Epiphany was dominated by other events. After some vacillation, the Western Churches abandoned Epiphany as the chief baptismal day of the catechumens and gave preference to the vigils of Easter and Pentecost.⁷ Other baptismal days were observed regionally — Christmas, for example, or the day of St. John the Baptist.⁸ Rarely, however — even in liturgical literature — is there mention of an old tradition according to which Maundy Thursday was looked upon as the day when the Sacrament of Baptism was officially instituted.

The tradition of Maundy Thursday as the date of the institution of baptism is inextricably bound up with the vexed question of the Baptism of the Apostles which puzzled ecclesiastical writers in the early centuries of the Christian era.⁹ Were the apostles baptized or not? And if they were, was it Christ himself or another person who baptized them? The bearings of that question are evident. The dominical prescription, transmitted in the Fourth Gospel (John 3:5), says that "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Was one supposed to assume that the apostles were not saved because they lacked their evangelically certified rebirth by water? Already Tertullian had spoken against this assumption.¹⁰ On the other hand, if the apostles were saved without

⁶ The distinction between *commémorations historiques* and *fêtes d'idée* has been skillfully carried through by A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 3rd ed. by Dom Bernard Botte (Chevetogne and Paris, 1953), 173 f, 179 ff.

⁷ For Epiphany as baptismal day, see the classical study of Karl Holl, "Der Ursprung des Epiphaniensfestes," in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II (Tübingen, 1928), 123–154; in general, see, e.g., Ludwig Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1933), 232 f, § b. For the problem, see also F. M. Braun, "Le baptême d'après le quatrième Évangile," *Revue thomiste*, XLVIII (1948), 347–369.

⁸ The shifting of the baptismal day from January 6th to December 25th is easily explained, because originally the Nativity of Christ was celebrated on the day of Epiphany; hence, the reference point may have been mistaken, but not really changed (cf. Eisenhofer, *loc. cit.*). That the day of St. John the Baptist served as baptismal day is almost self-evident. The Copts baptized on the day of the Consecration of the Chrism and of the "Baptism of the Apostles" (see below, n. 45).

⁹ See Harry A. Echle, "The Baptism of the Apostles," *Traditio*, III (1945), 365 f.

¹⁰ Tertullian, *De baptismo*, c. 12, ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa (CSEL., XX; Vienna, 1890), 210 ff, also ed. R. F. Refoulé and M. Drouzy (Paris, 1952), 82 ff, with valuable notes. Tertullian, like Augustine in his letter to Seleuciana (below, n. 12), neatly sums

participation in baptism, then to all appearances the dominical prescription lacked general validity. The Gospels gave no answer to those questions, and the allusion of John 4:1–2 seemed to deny at any rate a baptism at the hands of Christ: “Jesus himself did not baptize, but his disciples did.” This verse made the problem even more perplexing: could the apostles baptize others without themselves being baptized?

It is not surprising, then, that there arose the question concerning the Baptism of the Apostles, and that since the correct answer could not be known, it was answered in many different ways. Some authors held that the disciples were baptized by Christ, others said: “By John the Baptist.” Clement of Alexandria seems to have thought that Christ baptized Simon Peter only, who in turn baptized some, or all, of the other disciples.¹¹ St. Augustine was inclined to believe that all apostles were baptized by Christ himself, but declined to accept the version according to which all were baptized on Maundy Thursday in connection with the Last Supper.¹²

This version sprang from the Gospel of John, for only the Fourth Gospel describes the Feet-washing ceremony in the Upper Room, whereas it omits the narration one would expect in that place, that of the Last Supper and of the Institution of the Eucharist. This central event is barely alluded to in John 13, where it is said quite briefly: “And supper being ended . . . he riseth from supper.” Instead, all stress is laid upon the scene about which the Synoptics are silent: the Laving of the Feet.¹³

up the various opinions current in his times; he refers also to John 13:9–10, but deduces from that passage that the apostles were baptized previously, probably by John the Baptist. Cf. Echle, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ For Clement, whose theory is transmitted indirectly only through scattered remarks in John Moschos, Sophronios, Nikephoros Kallistos, and other writers, see Echle, 367 f.

¹² Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, LVI, c. 3 ff, *PL.*, XXXV, 1788 f, says nothing about the Baptism of the Apostles, though in LVII, c. 1, he says: *Ubi visum est intelligendum quod Baptismo quidem homo totus abluitur; sed dum isto postea vivit in saeculo, humanis affectibus terram velut pedibus calcans . . . contrahit.* In his letter to Seleuciana, however, while alluding to John 13, he says: . . . *quos [apostolos] intelligimus iam fuisse baptizatos sive baptismo Johannis, sicut nonnulli arbitrantur, sive, quod magis credibile est, baptismo Christi.* Cf. *Ep.*, CCLXV, cc. 4 ff, ed. A. Goldbacher (*CSEL.*, LVII; Vienna, 1911), 641 ff, esp. 643. This passage became, so to speak, the official version; it was repeated verbatim, e.g., by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, IIIa, q. 72, a.6, 2, who likewise reflects upon the Baptism of the Apostles in connection with John 13:10, just as Tertullian does, *De baptismo*, c. 12.

¹³ The theological literature on this topic is, of course, immense. See, in general, A. Malvy, “Lavement des pieds,” *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX (1926), 16–36; H. Leclercq, “Lavement,” *DACL.*, VIII:2 (1929), 2002 ff. There are some more recent studies, e.g., Paul Fiebig, “Die Fusswaschung,” *Angelos*, III (1928), 121 ff; H. von Campenhausen, “Zur Auslegung von Joh. 13,6–10,” *ZNW.*, XXXIII (1934), 259–271; Ernst Lohmeyer, “Die Fusswaschung,” *ZNW.*, XXXVIII (1939), 74–94, and Anton Friedrichsen, “Bemerkungen zur Fusswaschung,” *ibid.*, 94–96. The theological commentaries on John 13 yield historically not very much; see, however, Alfred Loisy, *Le quatrième évangile*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1921), 382 ff; Oscar Cullmann, *Les sacrements dans l'évangile Johannique* (Paris, 1951), 73 ff; R. P. Braun,

The Johannine narration of the course of events is simple enough, and it will be well to recall some of the details, since they will have to be referred to quite frequently. Christ rises from supper, lays his garments aside, and girds himself with a towel. After that, he puts water into a basin — *νίπτρη* in Greek, *pelvis* in Latin — and begins to wash the feet of the disciples and wipe them with the towel with which he is girded. *Venit ad Petrum* — he comes to Simon Peter, apparently not the first of the disciples whose feet were bathed,¹⁴ and at that point there develops the memorable *stichomythia*

“Le lavement des pieds et la réponse de Jésus à Pierre,” *Revue Biblique*, XLIV (1935), 22 ff; also, for a few remarks, Wilfred L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (Schweich Lectures, 1942; London, 1944), 75, n. 3. For the synagogical background, see below, n. 15. Two important studies on the *Mandatum* proper may be added here: for the East, see S. Pétridès, “Le lavement des pieds dans l’église grecque,” *Échos d’Orient*, III (1899–1900), 321–326, and, for the West, Dionys Stiefenhofer, “Die liturgische Fusswaschung am Gründonnerstag in der abendländischen Kirche,” *Festgabe Aloys Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres* (Freiburg, 1917), 325–339.

¹⁴ East and West differ on that point. Origen, *In Ioannem Commentarius*, XXXII, 4 ff, ed. Preuschen (GCS., X = Origen, IV; Berlin, 1903), 435, 18 ff, says one would assume that Peter was first and Judas last; Christ, however, acting like a good physician, started with Judas who needed medical treatment most urgently, and treated Peter last *ὡς ἑλαττον πάντων δεόμενον τῆς νύψεως τῶν ποδῶν*. Ephrem (below, n. 30), ed. Lamy, I, 394, likewise gives Peter the last place in the file of apostles: *Auctor gratiae lavavit pedes omnium discipulorum usque ad Simonem; quum autem ad eum accessisset . . . , ille timuit etc.* Ephrem’s reason for this sequence, however, was not medical, but ethical: *Incipiendo autem a minimo docuit omnes humilitatem* (p. 392). See also Cyrillonas (below, n. 32), p. 28. This remained the traditional sequence within the Orthodox Church; cf. J. Goar, *Euchologion* (Paris, 1647), 753, nos. 12–13, also p. 748 for the custom of beginning the Feet-washing with Judas (traditionally staged by the *ostiarius*) and ending it with Peter (traditionally staged by the *oeconomicus*); cf. Pétridès, 322 f.

The opposite opinion we find represented in the West by Augustine, *In Ioannem*, LVI, c. 1, *PL.*, XXXV, 1788: . . . *deinde subiunctum est, ‘Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum,’ quasi aliquibus iam lavisset, post eos venisset ad primum. Quis enim nesciat primum Apostolorum esse beatissimum Petrum? Sed non ita intelligendum est quod post aliquos ad illum venerit; sed quod ab illo coeperit. Quando ergo pedes discipulorum lavare coepit, venit ad eum, a quo coepit, id est, ad Petrum.* This, then, seems to have been a widely spread opinion in the West; it is quoted, e.g., in Bernard of Porto’s *Ordo Lateranensis*, c. 133, ed. Ludwig Fischer (Munich and Freising, 1916), 53; also Ernaud of Bonneval, *Liber de cardinalibus operibus Christi*, c. 7 (“De ablutione pedum”), *PL.*, CLXXXIX, 1650 A: . . . *de mensa surgens, linteo se praecinxit, et ad genua Petri . . . obtulit famulatum.* Ernaud even excluded Judas from the *pedilavium*, which Augustine did not do (below, n. 83). It is interesting to notice that even in this relatively insignificant matter there prevails in the West a hierarchic rationalism, the tendency to proceed in rank from top to bottom, whereas the East — here as always — recognizes the mystery in the unexpectedly reversed order.

The question of Peter’s precedence, or that of Judas, cannot, unfortunately, be specified by the iconographic material. There are, it is true, scores of pictures showing the apostles as they handle their sandals while Peter is washed; rarely, however, can it be told whether they are lacing their sandals after the washing, or unlacing them in order to be washed. Only one type suggests that Judas has preceded Peter: a small crouching figure, separated from the other disciples, is rubbing his feet or putting on his sandals, while Peter is being washed. This is quite obvious in a Byzantine fresco in Curtéa de Arges (Rumania); see Oreste Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtéa de Arges* (Paris, 1931), pl. LXXI bis, and text p. 137 ff;

between Master and disciple which was to become basic for all representations of that scene:

(6) And Peter saith unto him: "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?"

(7) Jesus answered and said unto him: "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know thereafter."

(8) Peter saith unto him: "Thou shalt never wash my feet." Jesus answered him: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me."

(9) Simon Peter saith unto him: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head" (*non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput*).

(10) Jesus saith to him: "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit. And ye are clean, but not all are."

The last words, of course, hinted at Judas' imminent betrayal. In the Synoptic Gospels, this prediction forms an indispensable part of the Last Supper; in the Fourth, it is shifted to the Feet-washing ceremony, although it will be repeated once more when Christ, later on, dips the sop for Judas. For, so we are told, after having washed the feet of the disciples and taken his garments, Christ returned to the table, reclined again, and set out to explain what his doing meant. "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." It was an example of humility and charity set to the disciples, a *Mandatum novum* (ἐντολή καινή) or new commandment of mutual love — and this is what the *Mandatum* was in the first place.

The intentions of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, in omitting from his narration the communion of the apostles and inserting instead the ceremonious *pedilavium*, will have to remain his own secret. It is easily understood, however, that later interpreters were inclined to raise the laving in the Upper Chamber to a sacramental level, an act hardly less meaningful and portentous than the breaking of the bread itself, with which the Feet-washing was so closely connected. At any rate, the exegetes were inclined to see that ancient ritual of the Synagogue¹⁵ in a new light, to attribute to it more than an act merely of humility and charity, and to visualize

see further, for a Byzantine silver embroidery, S. Eitrem, "La Sainte Ablution sur une broderie en argent byzantine," *Eis Mnēmyn Spyridōnos Lámproy* (Athens, 1935), 160 (fig.); see also *Bibl.Nat.*, MS. copte 13 (below, n. 128, and fig. 45). See, for the West, e.g., Hanns Swarzenski, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau* (Berlin, 1936), pl. 144, fig. 805, and text page 64 ("der sich die Füße trocknende Apostel").

¹⁵ The synagogical background of the ritual washing, important though it is, may be left aside for the present discussion; see, however, H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, II (Munich, 1924), 557; Robert Eisler, "Zur Fusswaschung am Tage vor Passah," *ZNTW.*, XIV (1913), 268 ff, as well as the papyrus Gospel fragment, published, e.g., by H. B. Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente* (Lietzmanns Kleine Texte, 31; Bonn, 1908; reprinted in 1924, pp. 4-9); Joachim Jeremias, "Der

some inner causal connection between the Feet-washing and the Institution of the Eucharist. In short, one began to attribute to the ritual washing a sacramental and, more specifically, a baptismal meaning. Peter's reluctance to accept his Master's services compared ideally with the reluctance of John the Baptist to perform the service demanded of him, a parallelism between the Baptism in Jordan and the Laving in the Upper Chamber which did not escape St. Ambrose,¹⁶ and which occasionally was reflected in the art of a later period (figs. 57, 58).¹⁷ If, further, Clement of Alexandria held that only St. Peter was baptized by Christ himself, he too may have thought of the Feet-washing at which, of all the apostles, Peter alone was distinguished by being told that he was clean, and therefore apparently had been cleansed before.¹⁸

Moreover, any event or action connected with water would have evoked in early-Christian typological thinking some association with baptism.¹⁹ Hippolytus of Rome, for example, interpreted the bath of Susanna as a baptism which he linked to passover.²⁰ The Syrian Aphraates, called the "Persian Sage," who wrote around A.D. 340, drew an even more succinct parallel:

Israel [he wrote] was baptized in the middle of the Red Sea on this paschal night . . . ;

Zusammenstoß Jesu mit dem pharisäischen Oberpriester auf dem Tempelplatz: Zu Pap. Ox. V, 840," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, XI (1947), 97-108.

¹⁶ Ambrosius, *De sacramentis*, III, 1, 4, ed. Johannes Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Florilegium Patristicum, VII; Bonn, 1936), 152, 10 ff: . . . *et ait illi Petrus: 'Tu mihi lavas pedes?' . . . Habes hoc et alibi: 'Venit ad Iohannem, et ait illi Iohannes: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me [Matth. 3:14]?' See also the sermon attributed to Fulgentius, Sermo, XXVI, PL., LXV, 893D: Sic et conversus tuus Joannes excusabat ad Jordanem, sic et tu excusas ad pelvem; and, for a later period, Bernaud of Bonneval, Liber de cardinalibus operibus, VII, PL., CLXXXIX, 1652B: Simili modo et Iohannes venienti Domino ad baptismum tentavit resistere . . . The resistance of John was a famous subject for dramatization in sermons, dialogues, and mystery plays; see George LaPiana, *Le rappresentazioni sacre* (Grottaferrata, 1912), 72 ff.*

¹⁷ Notably in the casket of Farfa (fig. 57; cf. n. 154); see also the portable altar from the Rhine (fig. 58, n. 155).

¹⁸ Echle, in *Traditio*, III (1945), 367 f.

¹⁹ The monograph of Per Ivar Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne église* (Upsala, 1942), may replace here an enumeration of the vast literature on that subject; see, however, also F. J. Dölger, "Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe," *Antike und Christentum*, II (1930), 63-69, also 70 ff.

²⁰ Hippolytus, *Εἰς τὸν Δανιήλ*, I, 16, ed. Bonwetsch (GCS., I: 1, 1897), 26 f: ποίαν "εὐθετον (ἡμέραν)" ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν τοῦ πάσχα; ἐν ᾗ τὸ λουτρὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ τοῖς καννομένοις ἐτοιμάζεται καὶ (ἡ ἐκκλησία ὡς) Σωσάννα ἀπολουμένη καθαρὰ νύμφη θεῷ παρίσταται. The bath of Susanna is paralleled here mainly with the nuptial bath of the Church; cf. Odo Casel, "Die Taufe als Brautbad der Kirche," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, V (1925), 144 ff, and, for the Hippolytus passage in particular, his "Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier," *JLW.*, XIV (1938), 23. Casel, in that connection, refers also to the Maundy Thursday bath of the catechumens mentioned in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*, c. 20, reprinted by L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 5th ed. (London, 1931), 533.

and our Saviour washed, also on the paschal night, the feet of his disciples, which is the Sacrament of Baptism.²¹

In a similar vein Origen, a century before Aphraates, had already interpreted the famous scene under the oak trees of Mambre in a baptismal sense. Abraham washed the feet of his three angelic visitors before serving them their meal:

For Abraham [wrote Origen] knew that the dominical sacrament cannot be consummated except by washing the feet.²²

If by "dominical sacrament" the Eucharist was meant, then indeed the Laving of the Feet must have meant baptism to Origen. At any rate, Origen placed in parallel the laving of the angels before their meal and the *pedilavium* of the apostles — yet another typological concordance of which late mediaeval manuscript painters availed themselves (fig. 15).²³

Origen's simile calls to our attention a rather important point. Abraham, as was the custom in the Mediterranean world, first washed his visitors' feet and thereafter served the meal. Was that the sequence of events in the Upper Chamber too? Did the laving take place *before* or *after* the breaking of the bread? Did the Feet-washing precede or follow the Communion of

²¹ Aphraates, *Homily XII* ("On the Pasch"), c. 6, trsl. Georg Bert, *Aphrahat's des persischen Weisen Homilien* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, III: 3–4; Leipzig, 1888), 191. In the Latin translation of J. Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, in Graffin, *Patrologia Syriaca*, I (1894), 527, the passage reads: *Baptizatus est autem Israel in medio mari hac paschatis nocte, in die salvationis; et Salvator noster etiam pedes lavit discipulorum suorum nocte paschatis, quod est sacramentum baptismi*. See, for the whole problem, the extremely useful study by Edward J. Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates the Persian Sage* (The Catholic University of America: Studies in Christian Antiquity, No. 8; Washington, D. C., 1945), esp. 53 f and 67 ff.

²² Origenes, *In Genesim Homiliae*, IV, c. 2, ed. Baehrens (Origenes, VI: 1, GCS., XXIX; Berlin, 1920), 53, 5: *Sciebat enim [Abraham] dominica sacramenta non nisi in lavandis pedibus consummanda*. For no obvious reason Origen first relates that Abraham *ordered* the meal for his guests before he discusses the Feet-washing. See next note.

²³ Munich, Cgm. 20, fol. 10^r; Henrick Cornell, *Biblia pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925), pl. 63 and p. 334, § 25. The text of the *Biblia pauperum* is highly significant for the confused chronology of events characteristic of the Western Church. The author first states: "Da begat unser herr das mandat." Then he tells the story of Abraham at Mambre: "kaum das sy zu im chomen, da er in nun zu essen und zu trinken geben het und ir fuez gewaschen het." Genesis 18:3–8, of course, says that Abraham first washed the feet and then ran to prepare the meal. The author has a reason for correcting Genesis: "Abraham petzaichnet unseren herren, der sich diemutikleichen neiget fur sein Iunger und ir fues zwug *nach* dem essen." Rome, on the whole, favored this sequence of events (see below, nos. 82, 83), and therefore the author of the *Biblia pauperum* changed also the sequence of Genesis 18. See also Hans von der Gabelentz, *Die Biblia pauperum und Apokalypse der Grossherzogl. Bibliothek zu Weimar* (Strasbourg, 1912), 44, for the Roman sequence of events. The Feet-washing of Genesis and that of John 13 are paralleled also in the Modena, Bibl. Estense, MS. *a. U.* 6, 7, fol. 34^r, of which a reproduction is found in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Vatican, 1951), VII, 969. See below, n. 26, for Augustine's chronology.

the Apostles? The Fourth Gospel, our only source, is not at all clear on that point. The narration begins with the words: "And supper being ended . . . he riseth from supper." This would suggest that the Feet-washing was performed after the meal, and, apparently, after the Institution of the Eucharist — an additional act of charity and humility, accentuating the charitable contents of the preceding brotherly repast. On the other hand, so we are told, the laving being accomplished Jesus reclined again at the table, not only to explain the meaning of the "New Commandment," but also to dip the sop for Judas. If this Judas-Communion be taken as an integral part of the Last Supper, as it is in the other Gospels, then indeed the Feet-washing would have taken place before the Communion of the Apostles.

All that can be said on the basis of the Fourth Gospel is that the laving interrupted the meal, or, at least, that it was performed during the meal. The scene is, in fact, occasionally so represented by mediaeval miniaturists. The twelfth-century Bible of Floreffe (near Liège), for example, shows the disciples still at the table, together with Christ who gives the sop to Judas; at the same time, however, Christ washes the foot of Peter from under the table (fig. 14).²⁴ In magnificent simplicity and directness this scene is shown in a Psalter, likewise of the twelfth century, in the Morgan Library: the bread, as yet unbroken, is on the table at which the disciples are seated, while the lordly *balneator* (to use an expression of Zeno of Verona) reaches again from under the table for Peter's foot to bathe it (fig. 16).²⁵ Those paintings may follow the perfectly sound interpretation of Augustine who pointed out that *Coena ergo facta* means *Coena iam parata*, "the table being prepared" instead of "supper being ended." However, this interpretation, though found in some other paintings (see, e.g., fig. 25), was not the one to conquer despite the authority of its champion.²⁶

²⁴ Brit. Mus., *Add. MS. 17737-8*, fol. 4^r.

²⁵ New York, *Morgan Library MS 645*, fol. 4^v, a particularly beautiful Psalter fragment containing the Entry into Jerusalem with the Reception (fols. 3^v-4^r), the Feet-washing, and the Crucifixion (5^r). I am indebted to the Morgan Library for placing a photograph at my disposal. Cf. Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus*, II, c. 35, *PL.*, XI, 480f: *Iam balneator praecinctus expectat . . .* (with reference to baptism, although the epithet *praecinctus* is reminiscent of the Feet-washing); see also James of Edessa, *The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others*, ed. and trsl. by E. W. Brooks, *P.O.R.*, VI (1911), 106 f (Hymn 63): "[we] have gained cleansing through the divine laver of regeneration."

²⁶ Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, LV, c. 3, *PL.*, XXXV, 1786: *Non ita debemus intellegere coenam factam veluti iam consummatam atque transactam: adhuc enim coenabatur, cum Dominus surrexit et pedes lavit discipulis suis. Nam postea recubuit, et buccellam suo traditori dedit, utique coena nondum finita, hoc est, dum adhuc panis esset in mensa. 'Coena ergo facta,' dictum est, iam parata, et ad convivantium mensam usumque perducta.* It is surprising that in this case the West, with few exceptions, disregarded Augustine's interpretation.

However, upon the question whether the laving was meant to precede or to follow the Last Supper, other conclusions depended. If that ceremony was performed *after* the Last Supper, it could be understood exclusively as the act of humility and charity which the *Mandatum novum* was at any rate. If, however, that humble service was assumed to have been rendered *before* the meal, as was the custom (so to speak) since Abraham's times, then indeed the washing and the meal would appear to be in causal relationship with one another and a totally different chain of symbols could, though not of necessity, be activated. For in this event the washing could have taken place in preparation for the Supper and for the Institution of the Eucharist; that is, in preparation for the First Communion of the Apostles — and the first communion normally followed immediately after baptism. In other words, the washing in the *νίπτηρ*, the foot-basin, might appear as the Baptism of Apostles. Moreover, the Feet-washing, if it preceded directly the Institution of the Eucharist, might be taken to be synonymous with the Institution of the Sacrament of Baptism in general, and the two holy rites of salvation could be said to have been instituted on the same day.

Hence, the chronology of events was of major importance for the evaluation of the ceremonious laving. It could be taken either as an act of charity and only charity, or it could be taken to have, in addition to its charitable values, a sacramental meaning. In short, a double interpretation sprung up, one charitable and the other sacramental, which now shall be traced in its radiations into various spheres of influence.

II

A few texts may first illustrate the baptismal exegesis of the Feet-washing. When Origen said that "the dominical sacraments cannot be consummated without washing the feet," he must have assumed that the *pedilavium* preceded the ritual meal — as in the case of Abraham's angelic visitors.²⁷ Quite unequivocal as usual, however, is the Syrian tradition, which most significantly connects the baptismal interpretation of the Feet-washing directly with the chronology of events in the Upper Chamber. Aphraates, we recall, styled the *Mandatum* straightforwardly the "Sacrament of Baptism." When contrasting the baptism of the disciples with Israel's baptism in the Red Sea, he made the sequence of events one of the essentials of his argument:

²⁷ Above, nos. 22–23. See also Origen, *In Ioannem*, XXXII, 4, 47, ed. Preuschen (Origenes, IV = GCS., X), 431 f, where once more the *pedilavium* is compared with the services of Abraham.

After the Lord had washed their feet and reclined again [at the table], he gave them his Body and Blood; whereas Israel first ate the paschal meal and was baptized thereafter in the Red Sea.²⁸

Aphraates further pointed out what the baptismal laving of the apostles meant: whereas the baptism performed by the Precursor referred to penitence only, the laving of the disciples represented the evangelical institution of true baptism, because in that paschal night the Lord revealed to the apostles the mystery of a baptism into his Passion and Death.²⁹ Other Syrian authors show some familiarity with the baptismal exegesis of the Feet-washing.³⁰ They may not always be quite clear about the point; but the evidence of Cyrillonas, a Syrian poet of the end of the fourth century, is unmistakable, for he conceived of the Feet-washing as the prelude to the reception of the Eucharist. He seems to have had in mind the passing of the newly baptized from the baptistery into the church,³¹ when he makes Christ speak after the laving:

Behold, I have washed and cleansed you; now hasten joyfully into the church and enter into her portals as heirs.³²

²⁸ Aphraates, *Homily XII*, c. 6; Bert, *Aphrahat*, 192 f; Parisot, in *Patr. Syr.*, I, 531: *Et postquam lavit pedes eorum, dedit eis Corpus et Sanguinem suum. Secus autem [populus] Israel, qui postquam pascha manducaverunt, baptizati sunt in nube et in mari.* Duncan, *Aphraates*, 68 f.

²⁹ Bert, *Aphrahat*, 193; Parisot, *op. cit.* 527 f: *Noveris etenim, carissime, Salvatorem nocte illa dedisse baptismum veritatis. Nam quamdiu cum discipulis conversatus est, baptismus legis, quo sacerdotes baptizabant, erat baptismus ille de quo dicebat Iohannes: 'Paenitentiam agite a peccatis vestris.' At in ea nocte manifestavit eis sacramentum baptismi passionis mortis suae, sicuti dixit Apotolus: 'Consepulti estis ei per baptismum in mortem, et cum eo surrexistis per virtutem Dei.'* Cf. Duncan, *Aphraates*, 67 ff, who has collected the Aphraates passages referring to the Feet-washing.

³⁰ See, e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentarium in Evangelium Johannis Apostoli*, ed. and trsl. by J.-M. Vosté, in: *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, Script. Syri*, ser. IV, vol. III, *versio latina* (Louvain, 1940), 183, on 'Non habebis partem': *Cum autem ex hoc verbo existimaret baptismi loco esse hanc lotionem, et ab ea se sumpturum participationem cum Domino, atque idcirco diceret ut se totum lavaret, si ita res se haberet, Dominus corrigit eius ignorantiam, dicens: Qui lotus est etc. Dominus noster vero loquens Simoni dicere vult: Hic non est baptismus in remissionem peccatorum . . .* Theodore then goes on saying: *Receperunt nempe discipuli baptismum remissionis a Johanne. . . , eos vero perfecit descensus Spiritus qui postea venit super eos.* This argumentation, of course, is quite conventional and may be found, time and time again, in both East and West. See also Ephrem, *Sermo III in hebdomadam sanctam*, c. 4, ed. T. J. Lamy (Malines, 1882), I, 398, who indicates at least the connection of John 13:10 with baptismal ideas by adding the word *baptismus* (*Qui baptismo ablatus est . . . nullo prorsus lavacro indiget*); Ephrem holds that the disciples were previously baptized "with fire and with the spirit," though not with water, and he, too, assumes that the Feet-washing preceded the Institution of the Eucharist; see *ibid.*, 414 ff. See also a sermon falsely attributed to John Chrysostom, *PGr.*, LIX, 718.

³¹ Duncan, *Aphraates*, 71.

³² Cyrillonas, *Hymnus über die Fusswaschung*, trsl. by P. S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, VI; Kempten and Munich, 1912), 29.

And during the Last Supper itself, according to Cyrillonas, Christ referred to his preceding services:

Behold, how highly I have honored you. I have laved your feet and have invited you to share my meal.³³

No doubt could arise for Cyrillonas that the Feet-washing was the preparation for the Eucharist.

This tradition belonged not to the Syrians alone. They may have started it, but it was popular and persistent throughout the East. Anastasius Sinaita, writing before A.D. 700, was a Syrian by birth, it is true; but his writings form part of Byzantine literature. On one occasion, when discussing in his *Hexaemeron* the achievements of the fifth day of the Creation, he happened to compare the Temple of Solomon with the Church of Christ, and thereby remarked:

After the fifth day, Solomon the son of David washed the temple in the type of the baptismal washing of the Church by Christ the son of David; therefore, the basin of the Last Supper on the fifth day [that is, the μεγάλη πέμπτη, *feria quinta*] takes the place of the baptismal font: the feet of the apostles were laved in a baptismal fashion by Christ, whereafter he gave them to participate in his Body and Blood.³⁴

Anastasius Sinaita, who later exercised considerable influence on the Russian Church and on Russian Church symbolism, culled his flowers from many a theological bypath. In this case, however, he seems simply to have enlarged upon an *ιδιόμελον ἀδέσποτον*, an anonymous and undated chant which in the tenth century appears in a Grottaferrata manuscript as an *Episthambonos* — a prayer *ad populum* said at the end of the mass from behind the ambo — and normally belongs to Vespers on Holy Thursday in the Greek Church as well as in her daughter Churches. It begins with the words:

The glorious disciples were illuminated in the basin of the Last Supper.³⁵

To “illuminate” (φωτίζειν) means to baptize, and the “basin of the meal” (νίπτῃρ τοῦ δείπνου) refers here — as in the exegesis of Anastasius Sinaita —

³³ Cyrillonas, *Erste Homilie über das Pascha Christi*, trsl. by Landersdorfer, 34.

³⁴ Anastasius Sinaita, *In Hexaemeron*, V, PGr., LXXXIX, 922C (only in a Latin version): *Haec nos quintus dies docet de Christo et Ecclesia, symbola et aenigmata, ante nobis significans principium baptismatis in quo creati sunt quinque sensus humanae naturae . . . In hoc quinto, inquam, die saeculi, in quinquies millesimo anno, factum est etiam lavacrum a Salomone filio David in templo Dei Hierosolymis, in typum baptismatis Ecclesiae Christi Dei, filii David. Quomodo etiam rursus illa pelvis in magno coenaculo, quinto die, exemplum habens piscinae; pedes discipulorum primum baptizavit Christus, et deinde dedit corpus et sanguinem in participationem . . .*

³⁵ Teodore Minisci, “Le preghiere opisthambonoi dei Codici criptense,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, III (1949), 62, no. 29, lines 3 ff: ὅτε γὰρ οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ μαθηταὶ σου ἐν τῇ νίπτῃρ τοῦ δείπνου ἐφωτίζοντο . . . ; cf. W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), 94.

to the foot-bath which thus takes the place of the "Jordan," the baptismal font. Since it seems quite unlikely that the *idiómelon* was formed after the text of Anastasius Sinaita, who, on the contrary, probably used or paraphrased the chant, we may assume that the chant antedated at least the seventh century. It belongs until the present day to the Maundy Thursday service of the Greek and Russian Churches,³⁶ and the basic idea embedded in the *idiómelon* will therefore be found everywhere within the Orthodox orbit, from Grottaferrata to Moscow.

This is true also with regard to the Gospel lessons in the liturgy on Holy Thursday. The pericopes are Matthew 26:2-19, John 13:3-17, and again Matthew 26:21-39. The readings are arranged in such a fashion that, by the intercalation of John into the report of Matthew, the impression is given that the Feet-washing preceded the Communion of the Apostles.³⁷

The same chronology of events is reflected also by the Armenian rite, in which the baptismal interpretation of the *pedilavium* was not unknown either. A prayer after the Feet-washing and preceding the liturgy says:

Wherefore even this day thou completedst in the economical humanity *the two works* of our salvation begun in ineffable humility, by washing in the holy upper-chamber the feet of thy disciples and by distributing among them thy body and blood.³⁸

Since the preceding prayer remembers the renewal of God's command "through the visible water of this washing" and entreats God to "endue us with the holiness of thy holy Spirit," there can be but little doubt that the "two works of our salvation" instituted on Holy Thursday were Baptism and the Eucharist.

These concepts can be traced also in the Egyptian Church. It would be difficult to tell whether Origen's exegesis of Genesis 18:4, the washing of the feet of Abraham's angelic visitors, has influenced the lectionaries. However that may be, the later Coptic lessons for Maundy Thursday contained the pericope Genesis 18:1-23,³⁹ immediately followed by the *Man-datum* ceremony which, in turn, opened with two specially composed lessons: one referring to Israel's crossing of the Red Sea,⁴⁰ and the other

³⁶ *Triodion* (Rome, 1879), 665; *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church*, trsl. by Isabel Florence Hapgood (Boston and New York, 1906), 208, cf. 210.

³⁷ *Euaggelion* (Rome, 1880), 131 f.

³⁸ *Rituale Armenorum*, ed. F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1905), 219.

³⁹ *Le lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte: Texte copte . . . d'après le manuscrit Add. 5997 du British Museum*, ed. and trsl. by O. H. E. Burmester, *POr.*, XXV (1943), 253 f. The Genesis pericope is followed by the rubric: "Voici les leçons qu'on lit sur le Bassin." It seems that in the Coptic Church the laving had its place within the frame of the mass.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, 257: "Quand Israel traversa le mer Rouge, leurs *pieds* foulèrent la mer . . . ; ils allèrent violemment dans l'eau; les *pieds* d'Israel et de toute la maison de Jacob, leurs

referring to the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua.⁴¹ While normally both crossings were taken to be typological prefigurations of Baptism, they were here prefigurations of the Feet-washing, too, as the repetition of the word "feet" clearly demonstrates. The Feet-washing, therefore, belonged to the general compound of baptismal ideas. Moreover, in the Coptic Church, the *pedilavium* and the reading of John 13:1–17 were followed by the pericopes of the Institution of the Eucharist from I Corinthians 11:23–26 and Matthew 26:20–29 so that clearly the Feet-washing preceded the Last Supper.⁴²

This chronology is found also in the *Apophthegmata patrum*, "The Sayings of the Monastic Fathers," and in the Syriac derivatives of that collection of edifying tales, which was composed in Egypt in the fourth or fifth century.⁴³ In one of these stories we find the discussion of the *Ordines Christi* – a speculative interpretation of the life of Christ in which an effort was made to attribute to Christ the performance of every duty and function pertaining to the various orders and ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. That *cursus honorum* started with the function of *ostiarius* which Christ allegedly exercised when driving the money-changers from the Temple, and it ended in the Last Supper when Christ as a priest or bishop imparted the bread and the cup to the apostles. This priestly or episcopal function, however, was preceded by the diaconate of Christ, who took upon himself the obligations of a deacon when he washed the feet of the apostles. In other words, the Feet-washing preceded the Communion of the Apostles. It may be mentioned *obiter* that the towel with which Christ girded himself, was accord-

pieds dansèrent; ils évitèrent la ruine; ils chantèrent le cantique: 'Louons le Seigneur, car il a été glorifié'."

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, 258: "Josué avec le peuple traversèrent le Jourdain; leurs *pieds* foulèrent les pierres qui sont au-dessous de l'eau; leurs *pieds* furent fermes; ils battirent leurs ennemis."

⁴² *Op. cit.*, 267–273, follows a long and interesting litany which was repeated also on the day of Peter and Paul, when once more the *lavatio pedum* was performed; see Burmester, "Two Services of the Coptic Church attributed to Peter, Bishop of Bahnesā," *Muséon*, XLV (1932), 241 f. Then (p. 277) a short grace is said after the laving and (277–282) the lessons referring to the Last Supper begin. See also p. 239, the "Prayer of the Basin (*Lakane*)," where the baptismal meaning of the Feet-washing is expressed quite clearly: ". . . who didst prepare for us the way of Life by the feet of Thine elect holy Apostles." The Br. Mus. MS. Add. 5997 is dated 1273; but the lectionary itself, which of course contains very old material, is said to have been composed by the Patriarch Gabriel II (1131–1146); see Burmester, in *POr.* XXIV (1933), 173.

⁴³ For the Greek text of the *Apophthegmata* passage, see A. Wilmart, "Les ordres du Christ," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, III (1923), 324 ff, esp. 326, who has admirably traced the history of that topic. See, for the Syriac tradition, Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers* (London, 1907), II, 135 (c. 594), and 243 (c. 429); and, for the Latin version, *Verba Seniorum*, IV, c. 8, *PL.*, LXXIII, 1016A. Within the tradition of that story there are many variations with regard to the ranks (see Wilmart, *op. cit.*), but the Feet-washing is practically always interpreted as a function of Christ the Deacon.

ingly interpreted as the *Orarion*, the stole of the deacon.⁴⁴ Later on, in the mediaeval Coptic Church, we have also the testimony of Bishop Macarius of Manûf, secretary to the Patriarch between 920 and 933. Not only does he assert that "on the day of the preparation of the chrism the baptism of the apostles took place," but he mentions also that on the same day the Patriarch performed baptism "because it is said that on this day Christ baptized his disciples."⁴⁵

We notice that in all Eastern Churches there was a certain readiness to interpret the *pedilavium* in a baptismal fashion or at least to have it chronologically precede the Institution of the Eucharist.

III

With regard to imagery, our interest will be concentrated, for obvious reasons, on representations which show both the Feet-washing and the Last Supper. The earliest evidence for the treatment of these two themes in one picture is found in the purple Codex of Rossano, a Greek Gospel-book of the sixth century (fig. 17a).⁴⁶ At first glance we might be inclined to think that the Rossanensis has the wrong chronology: the Judas scene seems to precede the *lavatio pedum*. This, however, is not quite correct. Judas does not receive the sop, but dips his hand into the dish. Hence, the artist did not follow the Fourth Gospel, but presented the scene according to Matthew 26:23, or Mark 14:20. It cannot be said, therefore, that he disregarded the sequence of events in John when he added marginally — following probably an old iconographic formula⁴⁷ — the *Mandatum* scene in the upper right corner. In fact, he may have been quite conscious of the correct sequence, for *after*

⁴⁴ Cf. H. Leclercq, s.v. "Lavement," *DACL.*, VIII: 2 (1929), col. 2004. See also the Coptic "Prayer of the Basin" for the extreme importance attributed to the "towel"; Burmester, in *Muséon*, XLV, 239 (above n. 42).

⁴⁵ L. Villecourt, "Un manuscrit arabe sur le Saint Chrême dans l'église copte," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XVIII (1922), 16 ff. The chronology is confused and it is not clear exactly what day was meant; however, baptism was performed on the day on which the chrism was consecrated and the apostles were baptized. This day, it is true, was for a long time Good Friday; but since 933 — with a brief interruption — it seems to have been Holy Thursday; cf. Philipp Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle in der morgen- und abendländischen Kirche* (Das östliche Christentum, N. F., Heft 6-7; Würzburg, 1948), 46; see also Riedel, in *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1902), 697 ff.

⁴⁶ Rossano, Bibl. Arcivescovile, Gospel-book, fol. 3^r; see A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense* (Rome, 1907), pl. 5.

⁴⁷ This formula (the placing of the Feet-washing in the right corner of the Last Supper), which is found in all centuries, may be of considerable age, as Professor Kurt Weitzmann kindly pointed out to me. The *νίπτηρ*, of course, is marginal in the Psalters where it illustrates Ps. 50:9 ("Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed"); cf. J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalter-Illustration im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XXXI: 5 (1903), 55.

the Laving he depicts the Communion of the Apostles whereby the disciples, as in wall paintings and mosaics, approach Christ from opposite directions to receive the bread and the chalice respectively (figs. 17b–c).⁴⁸ We might argue that the artist followed the Greek lessons of Maundy Thursday, which were Matthew, John, and again Matthew, and that he merely took the freedom to intercalate John, not after Matthew 26:19, as the pericope would suggest, but after Matthew 26:23, thereby throwing the Judas scene to the first pericope and severing, by the Feet-washing, the Last Supper from the Communion of the Apostles.

There arise, however, certain difficulties. The peculiar tripartition of scenes, rare on the whole, is found mainly in Syrian manuscripts, the British Museum Additional 7170⁴⁹ and the Vatican Syriac 559 (figs. 18a–c),⁵⁰ both of the early thirteenth century, in which the Feet-washing is not intercalated, but precedes both the Last Supper and the Communion. This might strengthen the hypothesis according to which the *Codex Rossanensis* originated in Antioch,⁵¹ and not in Byzantium, where that tripartition is not found; for the Paris Gospels, Bibl.Nat.MS.gr.74, repeat apparently by mis-

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1925), 258 ("rappel-lent, par leur disposition, la décoration d'un hémicycle d'abside"). As Professor A. M. Friend kindly informed me, this pattern was found already in Zion Church, in Jerusalem; see Hugues Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jerusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1912–1926), II: 3, p. 456, n. 5.

⁴⁹ For the manuscript, see Hugo Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria*, XX (1939), 136 ff (cf. next note). The sequence is: Feet-washing (fol. 139^r), Last Supper (fol. 139^v), Communion of the Apostles (fol. 141^r). This, by the way, is also the sequence of events depicted by Ephrem; see *Sermo III in Hebdomadam Sanctam* (above, n. 30), cc. 1–3: Feet-washing; cc. 4–8: Judas (= Last Supper); and *Sermo IV*, cc. 1–4: Institution of the Eucharist (= Communion of the Apostles). See below, n. 51, for other sequences.

⁵⁰ See G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque No. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Vatican City, 1940), pls. xvi–xvii, figs. 32–34. This MS., by and large, duplicates Brit. Mus. Add. 7170 (cf. Jerphanion, 62 f).

⁵¹ Anton Baumstark, "Bild und Liturgie in antiochenischem Evangelienbuchschmuck des 6. Jahrhunderts," *Ehrengabe deutscher Wissenschaft*, ed. by Franz Fessler (Freiburg, 1920), 233–252, does not discuss Feet-washing and Last Supper when he tries to link the *Rossanensis* to the Syrian Lectionary reconstructed mainly on the basis of the hymns and sermons of Severus of Antioch (Severus, unfortunately, yields little for the Laving on Maundy Thursday); see also Baumstark, "Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XI (1897), 31–66. For the pericopes at a later date, see Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, 19; they do not seem to justify the sequence of events depicted in the Rossano Codex. Attention may be called to the fact that in the later Cappadocian cycles the Last Supper always precedes the *lavatio pedum*; see the tables published by Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments* (Paris, 1930), 248–249. However, the Last Supper apparently is always represented, as in the *Rossanensis*, according to Matthew 26 (Judas dipping his hand), and not according to John 13 (Judas receiving the sop). One may wonder whether the confusing narration of Tatian's *Diatessaron* has had any influence; but to answer this question is beyond the capabilities of the present author.

take the Last Supper, which both precedes and follows after the Feet-washing, but omit the Communion.⁵² The Syrian readings, however, do not follow the Byzantine scheme,⁵³ and the only feature which the Eastern representations seem to have in common is that the *pedilavium* precedes the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles. This is true of an eleventh-century Athos manuscript⁵⁴ as well as of several Armenian manuscripts,⁵⁵ although on the whole the laving ceremony, in Eastern art, is rarely conjoined with the Last Supper or the Communion of the Apostles in one image.⁵⁶

The scheme of the Rossanensis and the Syrian manuscripts remained practically without influence in the East, and it was completely unknown in the West. Even in the one extraordinary case in which the Communion of the Apostles appears together with the washing ceremony in a western work of art — the thirteenth-century Enamel Casket from Huy — the Communion precedes the laving (figs. 19a–b).⁵⁷ It would be hazardous to call this sequence of events without qualification “Roman,” although it is remarkable that in the Roman orbit there is a certain predilection for this chronology. The Sacramentary of Ivrea of the time of Otto III (fig. 20) may serve as an illustration: ⁵⁸ in the upper register is the Last Supper according to John,

⁵² Cf. H. Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des MSS: Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle* (Paris, n. d.), for the MS.; pl. 167 (fol. 195): Last Supper; pl. 168 (195^v): Feet-washing; pl. 168b (fol. 196): Last Supper (almost identical with fol. 195), where one would expect the Communion of the Apostles.

⁵³ Jerphanion, *Syriaque No. 559*, 19, gives the later readings. Severus of Antioch, in his hymn “On the Washing on Maundy Service,” does not convey any suggestions with regard to the pericopes; see James of Edessa, *Hymns of Severus*, ed. Brooks, *POR.*, VI, 106 f. Nor are we certain about the Byzantine pericopes in the earlier times.

⁵⁴ Athos, *Dionysiou 740*, fol. 52^r (Feet-washing) and fol. 53^r (Last Supper). I am indebted to Professor A. M. Friend for acquainting me with this manuscript. This sequence is also that of the texts; see, e.g., Minisci, “Le preghiere opisthambonoi” (above, n. 35), 61, no. 28, lines 16 ff, where the Feet-washing precedes the Institution of the Eucharist.

⁵⁵ As Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian kindly informs me the Feet-washing precedes the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles in the following Armenian manuscripts: Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS. 2583, fol. 13 (Feet-washing) and fol. 14^r (Communion of the Apostles), Gospels dated 1444; Manchester, John Rylands Libr., MS. armen. 20, fols. 24 and 25^r (Last Supper), Gospels dated 1587; Paris, Pozzi Collection (no folio numbers: Washing and Communion), Gospels dated 1586. In about twelve other Armenian MSS., however, the Washing of the Feet comes *after* the Last Supper or Communion, and in the Gospel-book of 1653 (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS. 2350) the Last Supper is above and the Feet-washing below, though without a line separating the two scenes.

⁵⁶ The reason is that most of the Eastern representations of the laving are found in the Psalters as an illustration of Ps. 50:9 (see above, n. 47), whereas Gospel and Lectionary illustrations of that scene are relatively rare. See, however, above, no. 55.

⁵⁷ Fernand Crooy, *Les émaux carolingiens de la Châsse de Saint Marc à Huy-sur-Meuse* (Paris, 1948).

⁵⁸ Ivrea, *Bibl. Capitolare MS. 86*, fol. 50^v (ca. A.D. 1001–1002); cf. A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kungstgeschichte des Missale Romanum* (Freiburg, 1896),

in the lower is the *lavatio pedum*.⁵⁹ We find this scheme very frequently, for example, in a Gospel-book of Gnesen of the late eleventh century (fig. 21),⁶⁰ or in the clear outline of an English Psalter of the thirteenth (fig. 22),⁶¹ not to mention a score of other similar representations.⁶² It was a very conventional artistic manner of depicting the narration of John, even though, rather surprisingly, the chronology of events has been reversed. To be sure, the relation between upper and lower sections need not always be that of a chronological order proceeding from above to below. A Munich Psalter of the thirteenth century, for example, would suggest that the contents have to be read from below to above, since otherwise the Entry into Jerusalem would follow after the Laving and the Last Supper (fig. 23).⁶³ Scruples of chronology, however, have to be excluded when examining the twelfth-century Gospels from Pembroke College where a third scene is introduced: the Kiss of Judas and the Arrest of Christ (fig. 24).⁶⁴ Here the sequence is clearly: Last Supper, Laving, Arrest.

Contrariwise, the magnificent Gospel-book of Matilda of Tuscany (Morgan Library), which falls in the second half of the eleventh century, shows that the West had not totally surrendered to the wrong chronology (fig. 25).⁶⁵ In the uppermost third where the Feet-washing takes place, the table is laid with dishes as yet untouched — *coena iam parata*, as Augustine interpreted versicle 13:2 of St. John.⁶⁶ There follows, in the central section, the Last Supper with the Judas scene according to John; finally, in the lowest

57; G. B. Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, V (1931), 137, fig. 115; Luigi Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici Warmondiani* (Vatican, 1934), pl. xiv.

⁵⁹ It seems that the West had a strong preference for representing the Last Supper according to John, whereas the East apparently preferred the versions of Matthew and Mark. The problem, however, should be studied in greater detail than is intended here.

⁶⁰ Gnesen, *Chapter Library MS. 1a*, fol. 45^v; cf. *Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures: Bulletin*, XIX (Paris, 1938), pl. xxxix.

⁶¹ British Museum, *Royal MS. 1. D. X.*, fol. 4^r; cf. A. Herbert, "A Psalter in the B.M. (Royal MS. 1. D. X) Illuminated in England in the Thirteenth Century," *Walpole Society Annual*, III (1913-14), 47-56.

⁶² See below, figs. 27, 28 (nos. 69, 70); also, for a Lectionary at Karlsruhe, O. Homburger and K. Preisendanz, *Das Evangelistar des Speyerer Domes* (Leipzig, 1930), 20 f, pl. 21 (fol. 28).

⁶³ Cf. Hanns Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau* (Berlin, 1936), pl. 84, fig. 498.

⁶⁴ Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 120, fol. 3^r; cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), facing p. 121.

⁶⁵ New York, Morgan Library MS. 492, fol. 100^r; cf. Sir George Warner, *Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (Roxburghe Club, 1917), pl. xxiv.

⁶⁶ Above, n. 26.

third, the Arrest. This sequence of events will be found no less frequently than the other version, and it might be found in Europe anywhere — most tellingly, for example, in the Wilten chalice of the twelfth century (fig. 26),⁶⁷ or in a wall painting of St. Caecilia in Cologne, of the late thirteenth (fig. 30).⁶⁸ The correct chronology, as represented by these images, does not belong to any one school or any one country alone. Nevertheless, on the basis of a cursory examination of the Index of Christian Art it has been observed that especially in late mediaeval France the *pedilavium* preceding the Last Supper is almost invariably the order displayed by all kinds of works of art. For example, the Psalter (so-called) of St. Louis and Blanche of Castile of the thirteenth century shows the well-known scheme of the Ivrea Sacramentary (fig. 20) or the Gnesen Gospels (fig. 21) in a reversed order: the *Mandatum* is in the upper register, the Last Supper in the lower (fig. 27).⁶⁹ The same sequence is persistent in the ivories — and if the diptych of the Collection Reubell (fig. 28) should not be deemed unambiguous enough, then the diptych of the Musée de Cluny (fig. 29) may dispel every possible doubt concerning the chronology: the Feet-washing follows immediately after the Entry and therefore clearly precedes the Last Supper.⁷⁰

Admittedly, there are exceptions which give the opposite chronology.⁷¹ However, the question arises whether the predilection of French artists can be accounted for by some other evidence, and whether the observation of the correct chronology may have some significance. Perhaps the literary tradition in the West can provide us with some clue.

IV

In the Roman Church, the baptismal interpretation of the *lavatio pedum* was never accepted. Rome, in that respect, was peculiarly guarded and unreceptive. St. Augustine, far from recognizing the equation of Feet-washing and Baptism of the Apostles, warns of confounding the ceremony of charity with the Sacrament of Regeneration; he mentions in his letter to Januarius that in order to sever the *pedilavium* completely from baptism many teachers

⁶⁷ Heinrich Klapsia, "Der Bertoldus-Kelch aus dem Kloster Wilten," *Jahrb.d.kunsthst. Sammlungen in Wien*, N. F. XII (1938), 7-34.

⁶⁸ P. Clemen, *Die gotische Monumentalmalerei der Rheinlande* (Düsseldorf, 1930), pl. xx.

⁶⁹ Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS. lat. 1186, fol. 22^r; cf. Henri Martin, *Les joyaux de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1909), I, pl. xxviii.

⁷⁰ Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), pl. cxxxvii, figs. 799 and 805.

⁷¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Rosalie B. Green, of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, who called my attention to various items touched upon here.

(or churches) have refused to make it a custom or to introduce it at all, that others had no scruples toward eliminating the laving from the customary rite, and that a third group found it expedient to defer the whole laving ceremony to a different date.⁷² He pointed out that the disciples had been baptized previously either by John or, preferably, by the Master himself so that a repetition of baptism would have been wholly improper,⁷³ and declared that whereas by baptism the whole man was cleansed, the washing of the feet referred only to the daily pardonable sins.⁷⁴ Very consciously Augustine severed the act of charity from the Sacrament of Baptism, thereby admitting, of course, by implication that he was quite familiar with the concept of a baptismal exegesis of the *pedilavium*. He could not easily have avoided such admission; for among those who believed that the laving did pertain to the Sacrament of Baptism was the imposing figure of Ambrose of Milan who, in 387 at San Lorenzo in Milan, presumably stooped to wash, in a thoroughly non-Roman fashion, the feet of his unusually gifted catechumen from Tagaste, Augustine.⁷⁵

St. Augustine's attitude may have been determined by conditions in Africa. More than a generation before him, Optatus, Bishop of Mileve in Numidia, had written against the schismatic Donatists who logically had to defend the possibility of a second baptism if the first had been performed by a *traditor*; and in that connection Optatus declared that,

when Christ laved the feet of his disciples, . . . he fulfilled merely a form of humility, but pronounced nothing concerning the sacrament of baptism.⁷⁶

⁷² Augustine, *Ep.* LV, c. 33, ed. Goldbacher (CSEL., XXXIV, 2), 208: *Ne ad ipsum baptismi sacramentum pertinere videretur, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt, nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt, aliqui autem, ut hoc secretiore tempore commendarunt et a baptismi sacramento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum . . . vel etiam ipsum octavum, ut hoc facerent, elegerunt.* It is not at all unlikely that among the *multi* who declined to introduce the Laving, was Rome; see below, nos. 107, 108.

⁷³ Augustine, *Ep.* CCLXV, ed. Goldbacher (CSEL., LVII), 643; see above, n. 12. Cf. Echle, in *Traditio*, III, 366, n. 8.

⁷⁴ Augustine, *In Joannem*, LVII, c. 1, *PL.*, XXXV, 1790: *Ubi visum est intelligendum quod Baptismo quidem homo totus abluitur; sed dum isto postea vivit in saeculo, humanis affectibus terram velut pedibus calcans. . . , contrahit unde dicat 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'* See also *ibid.*, LVI, c. 4-5, col. 1789: *. . . homo in sancto quidem Baptismo totus abluitur, non praeter pedes, sed totus omnino: verumtamen cum in rebus humanis postea vivitur, quasi pedes sunt, ubi ex humanis rebus afficimur.* Even those who are clean because they live righteously, *opus tamen habent pedes lavare, quoniam sine peccato utique non sunt.* Augustine's arguments are closely related to those of Tertullian, *De baptismo*, c. 12; see also Theodore of Mopsuestia, above, n. 30. Bernard of Clairvaux (below, n. 79) followed Augustine closely.

⁷⁵ See below, n. 103. Stiefenhofer, "Die liturgische Fusswaschung" (see above, n. 13), 327 f: "Erst Augustin schneidet bewusst die Verbindung von Taufe und Fusswaschung durch."

⁷⁶ Optatus of Mileve, *De schismate Donatistarum*, V, c. 3, *PL.*, XI, 1049B: *Cum lavaret pedes discipulis suis. . . , solam fecerat formam humilitatis, nihil pronuntiaverat de sacramento baptismatis.*

Optatus tried to preclude every possible interpretation of the *pedilavium* as a "better" baptism than the one which the apostles may have previously received, and he therefore stressed the point that the washing had merely charitable, but not sacramental, values. This distinction must have been deeply engrained in the African Church. In one of the four sermons *De lavandis pedibus* ascribed to Fulgentius of Ruspe, an ardent defender of Augustine's anti-Donatist doctrines in Africa, the preacher said straightforwardly: "The Feet-washing is not the Mystery of Baptism, but the observation of charity."⁷⁷ This antithesis of charitable and sacramental aspects should be kept in mind, for it will be heard from the other side of the fence as well.

The reluctance of the African bishops to acknowledge in the Maundy Thursday ceremony any traits other than those of charity, as well as their resistance to making any concessions in that matter, resulted clearly from the horror which they felt toward anything resembling re-baptism, which the Donatists demanded – or were charged with – and which might imply a serious encroachment on the sacramental power of the hierarchy. What exactly the repercussions of the anti-Donatist struggles were in the long run, and to what extent they influenced the Roman Church in the sense in which

⁷⁷ See (Pseudo-)Fulgentius, *Sermo XXIII*, *PL.*, LXV, 890D: *Non est istud mysterium baptismi, sed obsequium caritatis*. Cf. *Sermo XXIV*, col. 891C: *Officium vos doceo humilitatis, non repetitionem baptismi*. While a great number of these sermons have been identified by G. Morin, "Notes sur un manuscrit des homélies du Pseudo-Fulgentius," *Revue bénédictine*, XXVI (1909), 223–228, the four sermons *De lavandis pedibus* (XXIII–XXVI) have not yet found their author and may actually be by Fulgentius; see also Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Sacris erudiri, III; Bruges and Hague, 1951), 147 f, no. 844. According to Morin, p. 228, the collection represents an African type of the fifth or sixth century. In fact, it can hardly be later than that because many sermons contain an intimate knowledge of imperial ceremonial not easily obtainable at a later period. Whether the sermons are "African" is a different matter. For example, *Sermo XXV* (cols. 891–893) contains a long passage from Augustine, *In Joannem*, LV, c. 7, *PL.*, XXXV, 1787 (*Quid autem mirum . . .*), which in its turn served to compose the *Inlatio* (the Preface) of the Mozarabic Maundy Thursday mass; cf. *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, ed. Marius Férotin (Paris, 1912), 241, no. 586; also the Mozarabic *Missale Mixtum*, in *PL.*, LXXXV, 416A. This passage, borrowed presumably from the Mozarabic mass, appears also in the Maundy Thursday *Illatio* (or Preface) of the Gallican *Missale Gothicum*, xxviii, *PL.*, LXXII, 266; ed. H. M. Bannister (Henry Bradshaw Society, LII; London 1917), 63 f. It does not seem likely that the Mozarabic mass was derived from the Gallican, which follows the text of Augustine less closely than the Hispanic mass; see, for all that, Marcel Havard, "Centonisations patristiques dans les formules liturgiques," in F. Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques* (Paris, 1906), 287 ff (cf. 246 ff), who reproduces the three texts (Augustine, Mozarabic, Gallican) in parallel. However, it has not been noticed that Fulgentius' sermons have a few additional clauses in common with the Gallican mass which the Mozarabic has not.

Fulgentius XXVI
(col. 893C)

Missale Gothicum
(col. 266)

. . . tremore concussi (discipuli) contra-

Turbatur Petrus cernens exemplum tantae

anti-Arianism finally moulded Rome,⁷⁸ would be difficult to assess. However, even in so peripheral a matter as the *lavatio pedum* the Roman attitude was extremely unyielding throughout the Middle Ages.

It is true, of course, that Bernard of Clairvaux called the *ablutio pedum*, when he discussed it together with Baptism and Communion in a Maundy Thursday sermon, a "sacrament." But he used this term in the sense of a "sacramental," that is, a holy action not reckoned among the sacraments proper as, e.g., a king's consecration. The *Mandatum* was to him a sacramental instituted to wash off the daily venial sins, a "sign," a symbol of humility and charity, but definitely not a ritual action preparatory to Communion.⁷⁹ Similar arguments were brought forth by Bernard's contemporary Ernaud, Abbot of Bonneval.⁸⁰ Ernaud clearly defines the laving as a sacramental, and not as a sacrament, and in addition to that he betrays certain confusions which must have been very common in his times, and for which he cannot be held responsible. It was a minor matter that he deviated from Augustine in that he held that the Institution of the Eucharist preceded the

dicere non audebant. Ceciderat super eos
cuiusdam formidolosa sarcina: *quia* mundi
dynasta *ad* servilia dignatus *se* inclinare
vestigia.

humilitatis in rege tantae maiestatis; *trem-*
escit pavens humanitas, *quia ad* eius *vestigia*
sese inclinare dignatur Divinitas.

In addition to the italicized words, the passages have in common the *tremor* (*tremescit*) of the disciples, from which Fulgentius proceeds to mention *mundi dynasta* where the *Missale Gothicum* has *rex tantae maiestatis*. See further Fulgentius, XXIV, 891B, and XXVI, 894A: *grande mysterium; o carum mysterium* (also XXV, 892A: *O stupendum miraculum! O grande spectaculum!*), and compare *Missale Gothicum: O admirabile sacramentum, grande mysterium!* Here the *Gothicum* seems to have used Augustine, *In Joannem*, LVII, c. 2, *PL.*, XXXV, 1790, who (with reference to the Song of Songs) likewise exclaims: *O admirabile sacramentum! o grande mysterium!* That Augustine was the source of both the sermon and the Gallican mass, goes without saying. However, there are certain interrelations (and there may be more) between the sermon and the *Missale* which it might be worth while to investigate. Also, the perpetual comparisons of the *pedilavium* with the laving of infants and with baptism, despite a definitely anti-baptismal interpretation of the Feet-washing, might suggest for the sermon surroundings in which the baptismal Feet-washing was still practiced.

⁷⁸ See the excellent sketch by J. A. Jungmann, "Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur des frühen Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, LXIX (1947), 36-99; but nothing comparable has been written on the influence which anti-Donatism or its *Abwehr* exercised on the Western Church — a central theme in Rudolph Sohm's *Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Dekret Gratians* (Leipzig, 1918). Actually, the fear of any kind of re-baptism was not unreasonable. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, as opposed to the Lutherans, clung to the Feet-washing as "a sacrament instituted and ordained by Christ," whereas to the Lutherans it appeared as *gräulicher papistischer Unfug*; cf. H. A. Daniel, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae Lutheranae*, II (Leipzig, 1848), 38 and 424; below, n. 160.

⁷⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Coena Domini: Sermo de baptismo, sacramento altaris et ablutione pedum* (esp. cc. 3-4), *PL.*, CLXXXIII, 271 ff.

⁸⁰ Ernaud of Bonneval, *De cardinalibus operibus Christi*, c. 7 ("De ablutione pedum"), *PL.*, CLXXXIX, 1650-1653.

Feet-washing, whereas Augustine taught that the laving took place before the meal proper started.⁸¹ Ernaud may simply have followed the chronology established by the Roman prayer at Communion on Holy Thursday: "The Lord Jesus, after he had supped with his disciples, washed their feet."⁸² Ernaud goes much further, of course, when he asserts that Judas no longer was present at the Feet-washing because he had left the Upper Chamber after receiving the sop — a scene which he, like scores of miniaturists, places chronologically before the *pedilavium*, so that finally the *Biblia pauperum* likewise reversed the order of Genesis 18:4–10 and claimed that Abraham washed the feet of his angelic visitors after the meal.⁸³ Here again Ernaud disregards Augustine, who strongly emphasized that even Judas was washed although the Master knew that this disciple would betray him;⁸⁴ and in the Eastern Church the liturgical chants voice the lament that Judas betrayed Christ although his Lord had humbled himself to wash the disloyal disciple's feet.⁸⁵ Ernaud, however, must have represented an opinion widely diffused

⁸¹ Ernaud (*loc. cit.*) begins his sermon with the words: *Iam sacramenta corporis sui apostolis Dominus distribuerat, iam exierat Judas, cum repente de mensa surgens linteo se praecinxit, et ad genua Petri, lavaturus pedes eius, ipse genibus flexis Dominus servo consummatae humilitatis obtulit famulatum.* See above, n. 14, for Petrus and Judas.

⁸² *Dominus Jesus, postquam coenavit cum discipulis suis, lavit pedes eorum, et ait illis: 'Scitis quid fecerim vobis. . . .'* This Communion prayer is based on John 13:12 where the text, however, reads: 'Postquam ergo lavit pedes eorum . . . dixit eis: Scitis . . .'. The text of the prayer is of considerable age, since it is found in the *Liber antiphonarius* the oldest manuscript of which is the Compiègne Codex written under Charles the Bald (PL., LXXXVIII, 675CD); see also, for the transmission of the prayer in later times, Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au moyen-âge* (Studi e Testi, 86; Vatican, 1938), I, 226, also 228 and 233.

⁸³ See the place quoted above, n. 81, as well as Ernaud's specific remark (col. 1653C): *An mensae tuae participationem Judas proditor est admissus; sed ab hoc lavacro salutari exclusus, lavari in fine non potuit, quia Apostolatus sui honorem detestabili cupiditate foedavit.* See, for the *Biblia pauperum*, above, n. 23.

⁸⁴ Augustine, *In Joannem*, LV, c. 6, PL., XXXV, 1786 f: . . . *ut hoc quoque ad maximum cumulum humilitatis accederet, quod etiam illi non dedignatus est pedes lavare, cuius manus iam praevidebat in scelere.* But Augustine (*ibid.*, LXII, c. 3, col. 1802) denies the communion to Judas, whereas Ernaud holds the opposite view (see preceding note). It is remarkable though that the early sacramentaries do not deny the Judas communion. In the Preface of the Maundy Thursday Mass in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), 73, the participation of Judas is an essential point: *Pascit igitur mitis Deus barbarum Judas, et sustinet in mensam crudelem convivam, donec se suo laqueo perderet. . .* See also Alban Dold and Leo Eizenhöfer, *Das Prager Sakramentar* (Texte und Arbeiten der Erzabtei Beuron, I. Abt., Heft 38–42; Beuron, 1949), 49°, as well as other *Gelasiana*. The *Gregorianum* also has this Preface, though slightly attenuated: *Patitur mitis Deus immitem Judam, et sustinet pius crudelem convivam, qui merito laqueo suo periturus erat. . .* Cf. *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, ed. Wilson (Bradshaw Society, XLIX; London, 1915); also PL., LXXXVIII, 82. See next note.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., *Triodion* (Rome, 1879), 669, the Kathisma: Ποῖός σε τρόπος, Ἰούδα, προδότην τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰργάσατο; . . . μὴ συνδειπνήσας ἐκείνοις σὲ τῆς τραπέζης ἀπόσασατο; μὴ τῶν ἄλλων νίψας τοὺς πόδας, τοὺς σοὺς ὑπερεῖδεν; *Ὡ πόσων ἀγαθῶν ἀμνήμων ἐγένου! These rhetorical questions are implied already in Ephrem, *Sermo III in hebdomadam sanctam*, ed. Lamy, I, 400 and 408:

in the West, for in fact we often find in western imagery that only eleven apostles were present at the *Mandatum*.⁸⁶

The attitude of Rome was certainly important; but Rome, especially in the early Middle Ages, was not yet identical with the West, and Roman liturgical customs were not yet those of all the Western Churches in many of which, the Frankish included, a definitely non-Roman stratum remained vigorous for many centuries. In a Carolingian catechism of the ninth century, the catechumen asks: "Why are those reborn in the font of baptism led to the table of the Lord?" And he receives the answer:

To confirm in them all the sacraments of Christianity. . . . For also the Lord, after lavaging the feet of the apostles, handed to them the mysteries of his Body and Blood."⁸⁷

In the same century, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were composed in Gaul. One of the false decretals, the so-called Second Letter of Pope Fabian (240–253), contains a long paragraph about the consecration of chrism on Holy Thursday: the Pope is made to remark that not only was the preparation of the holy oils instituted on Maundy Thursday, but also communion and baptism — "for the washing of our feet signifies baptism."⁸⁸ From Pseudo-Isidorus that passage wandered to other collections of canon law. Bonizo of

Etenim quamvis agnosceret pravam eius mentem, inclinavit se ut lavaret ei pedes, sed cor illius non fuit ablutus. See Lamy, I, 423, n. 1, on the question of the Judas communion. It is noteworthy that these ideas are found also in a Maundy Thursday antiphon of the Beneventan rite: *Lavi pedes tuos, discipule; feci te testem sacramenti mei. Manducasti panem meum; et tu quare sine causa sitisti sanguinem meum?* See the Beneventan Gradual, in *Paléographie musicale*, XV (1931), 288, where the learned editor adds: "Expression bien hardie, et qui semble assez peu romaine d'inspiration. Spontanément on pense à un original grec." He is reminded of the tone of the *Improperia*; but the prototype is found in Ephrem. It is significant for the non-Roman climate that this antiphon has the rubric: *Deinde responsorium Ambrosianum*, although it is not found in the Milanese service books that we know.

⁸⁶ See, e.g., the Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Antiphonal (MS. a. XII. 7, fol. 298), of the middle of the twelfth century, reproduced by Karl Lind, *Ein Antiphonarium mit Bildschmuck . . . im Stifte St. Peter zu Salzburg* (Vienna, 1870), pl. x, and p. 15; or the New York, Morgan Library, Pierpont MS. 521; cf. M. R. James, "Four Leaves of an English Psalter," *Walpole Society Annual*, XXV (1936–37), pl. vi. Rather significant for the later style is Duccio's Retable at Siena, in the Cathedral Museum (Opera del Duomo), of 1308–1311 (see fig. 40). See also below, n. 121, for the Bernini relief in the Cathedra Petri (fig. 39). If the Mozarabic *Liber ordinum*, ed. M. Férotin (Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica, V; Paris, 1904), 190, line 24 (cf. n. 2), says: ". . . *exiendum ad viginti duos pedes; et accedendum est ad cenam post pedes lavatos . . .*," there can be no doubt that only eleven apostles were laved (Judas not being present).

⁸⁷ See A. Wilmart, "Une catéchèse baptismale du IX^e siècle," *Revue bénédictine*, LVII (1947), 196–200, § 17: *Quare renati fonte baptismatis mox corporis et sanguinis domini sacramenta percipiunt? Resp. Ob hoc videlicet ut omnia christianitatis in eis sacramenta firmentur. Nam et salvator, postquam lavit pedes apostolorum* [see above, n. 82], *tradidit eis sui corporis et sanguinis misteria.*

⁸⁸ P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), 160 f, the letter "Ad omnes Orientales episcopos": *In illo die dominus Iesus, postquam coenavit* (see above, n. 82) *cum discipulis suis et pedes eorum lavit, sicut a sanctis apostolis praedeces-*

Sutri, for example, who wrote at the end of the eleventh century, still repeated that passage and asserted that "after the laving of the feet of St. Peter and the other apostles, the sacrament of Body and Blood was dispensed."⁸⁹ It is true, the whole passage, including the interpretation of the *pedilavium* as baptism, may still be found in liturgical writings, for example, in the somewhat old-fashioned *Ordo Lateranensis* of Bernard of Porto (ca. 1150).⁹⁰ On the whole, however, it may be said that by the time of Bonizo the canonists had begun to omit the baptismal passage from the second Fabian letter, even though the letter itself was quoted regularly on account of the confection of chrism on Holy Thursday; and in this connection it was incorporated also into the Roman Breviary.⁹¹ However, the underlying idea of the clause equating the *Mandatum* with baptism was probably no longer understood, since it deviated too strongly from the Roman customs which became the binding norm in the age of the Church Reform. At any rate, the baptismal phrase in the Fabian letter no longer is found either in Ivo of Chartres or in Gratian's *Decretum*,⁹² although both authors still quote the letter itself. Therewith the idea of the baptismal values of the *pedilavium* was lost to the jurists who glossed the *Decretum*, and likewise it strayed out of the sight of the theologians.

This does not imply that the chronology of events propagated under the influence of Roman customs was uniformly accepted. The Egyptian meditation about the *ordines Christi*, according to which Christ as a deacon

sores nostri acceperunt nobisque reliquerunt, crisma conficere docuit; ipsa enim lavatio pedum nostrorum significat baptismum, quando sancti crismatis unctione perficitur atque confirmatur. Dr. Schafer Williams, in Washington, was kind enough to call my attention to this passage. For the letter of Fabian with regard to the confection of the holy oils, see also Goar, *Eucho-logion*, 643; L. Petit, "Du pouvoir de consacrer le Saint Chrême," *Échos d'Orient*, III (1899-1900), 4; Philipp Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle* (above, n. 45), 45.

⁸⁹ Bonizo, *Liber de vita Christiana*, II, c. 52, ed. E. Perels (Berlin, 1930), 60: *In cena Domini antiqua traditione a sanctis patribus accepimus reconciliari specialiter debere penitentes, ideo quia eo die sacramentorum, baptismi scilicet et sanguinis Domini, apostolis a domino Christo donata fuit traditio.* *Ibid.*, II, c. 55, p. 62: [On this day the consecration of the chrism and the reconciliation of the penitents] *quia ultimo pascha cum discipulis celebrato post Petri ceterorumque discipulorum pedum lavationem, ut nobis evangelica narrat hystoria, iterum Christum scimus recubuisse et sacramenta sui corporis et sanguinis et ordinem celebrandi apostolis tradidisse. . . .*

⁹⁰ Cf. *Bernhardi Cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris Ordo Officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, c. 126, ed. Ludwig Fischer (*Historische Forschungen und Quellen*, 2-3; Munich and Freising, 1916), 49 f.

⁹¹ *Breviarium Romanum*, January 20th, "SS. Fabiani et Sebastiana": *Idem statuit, ut quotannis feria quinta in Coena Domini, vetere combusto, crisma renovatur.* Cf. Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle*, 45.

⁹² Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, II, 73, *PL.*, CLXI, 176; for Gratian, see c. 18, D.3, de consecratione, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, I (Leipzig, 1879), 1357 (with n. 173 for the older canonical collections).

washed the feet of the apostles before he instituted as a priest or bishop the Sacrament of the Altar, was translated at an early time into Latin – probably in the sixth century. The translation apparently was made in Rome, but it was the Irish – with their strange preference for things Egyptian – who spread the story in the West, especially on the fringes of the Roman Patriarchate.⁹³ It appears in the so-called *Hibernensis* (the Irish collection of canons of the seventh century) and in the Bobbio Missal as well as in the Malalianus Chronicle of the eighth century and in St. Gall manuscripts of the ninth. In the twelfth century its popularity rose. The story is reported by Ivo of Chartres and Honorius of Autun, by the Norman Anonymous, Stephen of Baugé, Hugh of St. Victor, and finally by Peter the Lombard; and it is found in manuscripts from Monte Cassino and Cluny, from St. Martial and Paris, Chartres and Troyes, and from various other places.⁹⁴ In short, through that story of the Egyptian monks some recollection remained alive of the old tradition according to which the laving was performed in preparation of the Last Supper.

All that, however, is of minor importance. What matters here is that in the early Middle Ages the non-Roman Churches of the West practiced the *pedilavium* as part of the baptismal rite itself: the feet of the neophyte were washed. In Spain and in Africa this rite was eliminated by the fourth and fifth centuries.⁹⁵ In the Irish Church the baptismal Feet-washing was practiced as late as the ninth century, when it is mentioned by the Stowe Missal.⁹⁶ A Ravenna inscription suggests that this rite was not unknown in

⁹³ Wilmart, "Les ordres du Christ" (above, n. 43), has carefully inspected the texts referred to in this paragraph, not all of which, however, contain the passage on the *pedilavium*.

⁹⁴ The Norman Anonymous escaped Wilmart; see Heinrich Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1899), 457: *De canonibus et decretis*, c. 7, where the Anonymous combines the functions of Christ with the "Ordination of the Apostles"; similarly Tractate XIX, ed. Böhmer, 473 f; see also 441, and, for a number of relevant observations, George H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.* (Harvard Theological Studies, XVIII; Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 85 f.

⁹⁵ For Spain, see canon 48 of the Synod of Elvira (303 or 305), ed. H. T. Bruns, *Canones apostolorum et conciliorum*, II (Berlin, 1839), 8: *Neque pedes eorum [qui baptizantur] lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus vel* [other reading: *sed*] *clericis*. See, on that canon, F. J. Dölger, "Die Münze im Taufbecken," *Antike und Christentum*, III (1932), 1 ff, who unfortunately does not seem to have written the study on the baptismal Feet-washing which he had planned. The polemics of the African bishops (above, nos. 76, 77) would suggest that a baptismal Laving of the Feet was practiced in Africa; see also Duncan, *Aphraates*, 74.

⁹⁶ *The Stowe Missal*, ed. G. F. Warner (Bradshaw Society, XXXII; London, 1915), 32; see also F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), 217. About the sequence of events there is no doubt; the rubric *Tunc lavantur pedes eius accepto linteo* is followed by a set of antiphons: *Corpus et Sanguis domini nostri iesu christi sit tibi in vitam aeternam. Amen.*

the Church of the former Exarchate either.⁹⁷ And it was generally observed over a long period in the Churches of Gaul and Milan. Although there is no direct evidence extant that the East ever practiced a baptismal Laving of the Feet, it is difficult to imagine that all the non-Roman Churches of the West should have adopted that ritual without the stimulus of ideas which were common in Syria and not unknown to the other Eastern Churches.⁹⁸

The practice of the Gallican Church is well known, and the places referring to the baptismal rite *Ad pedes lavandos* in the *Missale Gothicum*, the *Gallicanum vetus*, and the *Bobbiense* have often been collected.⁹⁹ Additional evidence can be gleaned easily from the answers of Frankish bishops to Charlemagne's inquiry concerning baptism.¹⁰⁰ The ceremony itself, the washing of the feet of the neo-baptized after he had left the font and donned his white garment, is of minor interest here — with one exception: According to all the Gallican service books the celebrant, after having accomplished the washing, speaks the formula *Ego tibi lavo pedes*.¹⁰¹ This formula corresponds with that spoken at the accomplishments of other holy actions (*Ego te baptizo*, *Ego te absolvo* etc.), and it may suggest what kind of liturgical rank was attributed to the baptismal Laving of the Feet.¹⁰²

By far the most interesting evidence, however, comes from Milan. The ritual itself was similar to that of Gaul, though it was somewhat more elaborate. The celebrant, or the bishop if he himself performed the rites, not only kissed the foot of the neo-baptized after the laving, but also (according to a later Milanese Order) placed on his head three times the heel of the neophyte's foot — a strange variety of sacred *calcatio colli*, or rather a ges-

⁹⁷ The Feet-washing is referred to in the baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte, where an inscription beneath a mosaic showing the Baptism of Christ reads:

Ubi deposuit Ihs vestimenta sua et misit aquam

In pelvim, coepit lavare pedes discipulorum suorum.

Duncan, *Aphraates*, 74 f.

⁹⁸ Duncan, *Aphraates*, 71, is certainly correct when he refutes the generally accepted view (cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* [5th ed., London, 1931], 326) according to which "there was in the Orient no trace of a washing of feet in connection with baptism." There is, however, no evidence that a washing of the feet actually belonged to baptismal rites.

⁹⁹ See Leclercq, *DACL.*, VIII: 2, col. 2007-9; Malvy, *Dict. théol. cath.*, IX, 17; Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica*, 128, n. 1; Duncan, *Aphraates*, 75.

¹⁰⁰ See F. Wiegand, *Erzbischof Odilbert von Mailand über die Taufe* (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, IV: 1; Leipzig, 1899), 63 ff; Odilbert's work was submitted to Charlemagne in answer to the emperor's inquiry of 812 to which only nine answers were known until J. M. Hanssens, "Deux documents carolingiens sur le baptême," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, XLI (1927), 69 ff, added a tenth from an Orléans manuscript. See also A. Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia* (Studi e Testi, 59; Vatican, 1933), 154, n. 3, who mentions seventeen such answers, though admitting that "plusieurs sont irréelles."

¹⁰¹ See *PL.*, LXXII, 275C, 370A, 502D.

¹⁰² Other actions, to be sure, are introduced in a similar fashion: *Perungo te chrisma sanctitatis*, for example, precedes the laving formula in the *Missale Gothicum*; *PL.*, LXXII, 275C.

ture of *caput submittere quasi deo praesenti*, "inclining the head under the quasi-present God," of which other examples are known.¹⁰³ What matters here is that Ambrose of Milan himself, at various times, interpreted the meaning of the baptismal Feet-washing, and that his remarks shed all the light we may desire on our present problem.¹⁰⁴ Ambrose, too, considered the laving above all an act of humility and charity; but he saw more in it than that. He held that Christ not only humiliated himself by giving the example of mutual love, but that he also washed the *venena serpentis*, the "poisons of the snake," from his disciples by cleansing them.¹⁰⁵ He further compared the reluctance of Peter to be laved by his Master with the reluctance of John the Baptist to perform the laving in Jordan for Christ and thereby established an interrelation between the laving on Epiphany and the laving on Maundy Thursday.¹⁰⁶ Finally Ambrose, while defending the baptismal essence of the Feet-washing, enlarged upon the differences prevailing between the liturgical uses of Rome and Milan.

We know very well that this custom [of washing the feet at baptism] is not observed by the Roman Church whose type and form in all other respects we follow; but this rite of feet-washing Rome has not. Perhaps Rome avoided [its introduction] on account of the crowds. Nonetheless, there are those who dare excuse [that omission] and maintain that the laving shall be performed not at the Mystery, not at Baptism, not at the Regeneration, because the washing of the feet should be offered only, as it were, to a guest.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Stiefenhofer, "Liturgische Fusswaschung" (above, n. 13), 327, sums up the material from Beroldus, ed. M. Magistretti, *Beroldus sive Ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis kalendarium et ordines saec. XII* (Milan, 1894); inaccessible to me was Joseph Visconti, *De antiquis baptismi ritibus et caeremoniis* (presumably in his *Observationes ecclesiasticae* [Milan, 1615–1626]), Lib. II, c. 17–20, where the rites as mentioned above are described. On Holy Saturday, the Archbishop of Milan himself baptizes three boys, naming them Peter, Paul, and John (see, for a similar practice in Rome, M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, I [Vatican City, 1938], 245, with n. 24), and washes their feet after the fashion described. See, for *caput submittere*, F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen, 4–5; 2nd ed. Munster, 1925), 7 ff.

¹⁰⁴ The passages are collected by Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica*, 128, n. 1. J. Huhn, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes Sacramentum bei dem Kirchenvater Ambrosius* (Fulda, 1928), 33–43 (inaccessible to me), seems to hold that Ambrose defended the *pedilavium* as a "sacramental," and not as a "sacrament"; see, however, the review of Karl Adam, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CX (1929), 177–179, who, on the contrary, stresses vigorously its character as a sacrament. Cf. Duncan, *Aphraates*, 72 ff; also above, n. 85, for the Beneventan Gradual: *Lavi pedes tuos, discipule; feci te testem sacramenti mei*, and the rubric *Responsorium Ambrosianum*.

¹⁰⁵ Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, III, 1, 7, Quasten, p. 153: *Lavas ergo pedes, ut laves venena serpentis*; also *In Psalmum* 48, n. 8: *Unde dominus discipulis pedes lavit, ut lavaret venena serpentis*; *PL.*, XIV, 1215A; Quasten, 128, n. 1. The metaphor was very common both in the East and the West.

¹⁰⁶ See above, n. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *De Sacramentis*, III, 1, 5, ed. Quasten, 152: *Non ignoramus quod ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cuius typum in omnibus sequimur et formam; hanc tamen con-*

It will not be superfluous to add the remark here that even the ordinary *lavatio pedum* of the clerics on Maundy Thursday is not attested to in Rome prior to the twelfth or thirteenth century;¹⁰⁸ and we may wonder whether Augustine's remark about the attitude of some churches which found it "safer" not to introduce the laving at all, was not made in reference to Rome.¹⁰⁹ What Saint Ambrose stressed, however, was the difference between the Milanese sacramental concept of the laving and the Roman charitable or hospitable concept of that ceremony. Nor was Ambrose the man to content himself with mere hints. He was, in fact, extraordinarily outspoken, as he continued:

One thing is humility, another is sanctification. Now listen why [the laving] is a mystery and a sanctification: "Unless I wash thy feet, thou wilt have no part with me." This I say not to rebuke others, but to recommend my own way of officiating. In every respect I am desirous to follow the Roman Church. Yet, we too are men having our senses. Hence, what is retained more correctly in other places, that more correctly we too shall retain.¹¹⁰

Those were strong words directed against Rome and Roman usage, and not without irony Ambrose concluded his diatribe, saying:

WE follow the Apostle Peter himself. WE cling to his devotion. What says the Roman Church now? For to us the Apostle Peter himself is the author of our assertion, he who was a priest of the Roman Church. Peter himself said: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head" — *non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput*.

And Ambrose added:

Notice the faith. What first he objected to, was a matter of his humility; what afterwards he offered, was a matter of his devotion and faith.¹¹¹

suetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, forte propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen, qui dicant et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non in baptisate, non in regeneratione, sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sint.

¹⁰⁸ See *Ordo Romanus* X, c. 12, *PL.*, LXXVIII, 1013A; according to the new edition by Andrieu, *Pontifical romain*, II, 464 and 552 (*Pontificale Romanae Curiae*, saec. XIII, *Ordo XLII*, c. 31), the *Ordo X* does not seem to antedate the thirteenth century. See also Eisenhofer, *Liturgik*, II, 523, n. 77.

¹⁰⁹ See above, n. 72.

¹¹⁰ *De Sacramentis*, III, 1, 5, Quasten, 152, 23 ff: *Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi, quia mysterium est et sanctificatio: 'Nisi laveris tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem.' Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi ecclesiam Romanam; sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo, quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus.* Strangely enough this passage served Pope Nicholas II, in a letter to the Milanese, as proof of Ambrose's conformity with Rome: *Unde et ipse S. Ambrosius se in omnibus sequi magistram sanctam Romanam profitetur ecclesiam* — a passage incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum*, c. 1, D.XXII, ed. Friedberg, I, 73 (with n. 3).

¹¹¹ *De Sacramentis*, III, 1, 6, Quasten, 152, 30 ff: *Ipsam sequimur apostolum Petrum, ipsius inhaeremus devotioni. Ad hoc ecclesia Romana quid respondet? Utique ipse auctor est nobis huius adsertionis Petrus apostolus, qui sacerdos fuit ecclesiae Romanae. Ipse Petrus ait:*

The difference between the Milanese sacramental and the Roman charitable concepts of the *pedilavium* may be reduced to a different emphasis laid on different versicles of the Fourth Gospel. Ambrose, conceiving of the Feet-washing as a "mystery" and baptismal "sanctification," stressed the (so to speak) *positive* versicles: the hidden promise contained in the words "Unless I wash thy feet, thou wilt have no part with me," and Peter's devotion and faith — as distinguished from his humility¹¹² — when he said: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." Contrariwise, Rome, seeing in the ceremony only the expression of humility and charity, stressed the (so to speak) *negative* versicles in which Peter remonstrated: "Dost thou wash my feet?" and "Thou shalt never wash my feet." Those are two different concepts of which Ambrose on the one hand and the Africans on the other are the chief exponents.

In whatever fashion one may wish to explain the origin of this dichotomy, about its existence there can be no doubt, especially since our archaeological and iconographic evidence strikingly supports and illustrates the dual concept. This, of course would not imply that the antithesis of Roman and Milanese rites can be held responsible for the differing artistic concepts, but rather that both art and liturgy reflect the same conceptual difference.

IV

In the Rossano Codex (fig. 17a) Peter is shown as he tries to keep his Master from humiliating himself, and the disciple's beseeching gesture seems to say: "Dost thou wash my feet?" This version is found sporadically in the East, in Byzantium as well as in Syria. The Leningrad Lectionary, for example, shows most impressively the gesture of supreme embarrassment and amazement on the part of Peter (fig. 31).¹¹³ We find a similar gesture also in a Syrian miniature of the twelfth or thirteenth century (fig. 32),¹¹⁴ although here the objections of Peter are less reproachful than they are categorical, as if he were saying: "Thou shalt never wash my feet." This gesture of amazement and reproach coupled with remonstrance and resistance is iconographically very old. In fact, it goes back to the very first representations of the Feet-washing that we know: to a group of early Chris-

'Domine, non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput.' *Vide fidem. Quod ante excusavit, humilitatis fuit; quod postea obtulit, devotionis et fidei.*

¹¹² Above, n. 111; also 110: *aliud . . . humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis.*

¹¹³ Leningrad, Public Library, MS. gr. 21, fol. 6^v; photograph by courtesy of Professor Weitzmann. See also Charles Rufus Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), fig. 96, p. 83 f. For other instances of that gesture in the East, see, e.g., Venice, San Giorgio dei Greci, Lectionary, fol. 274^r.

¹¹⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibl. MS. Sachau, 304, fol. 89^r.

tian sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries (figs. 33, 34).¹¹⁵ In those sculptures, which still breathe the moderation of late classical works of art, the emotions are tempered. Christ, humiliated before the enthroned Pilate, is counter-balanced by the Feet-washing Christ humiliating himself before the enthroned disciple who will become the *princeps apostolorum*. The latter's gesture is one of quiet remonstrance, which still survives in the tenth-century ivory casket from Quedlinburg (fig. 35), as well as in the Gospels of Emperor Henry II (fig. 36),¹¹⁶ both works of art of the Ottonian period. The gesture came to the British Isles with the Gospels of Saint Augustine (seventh century), at the latest;¹¹⁷ and it is found in the twelfth-century Psalter from St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester (fig. 37),¹¹⁸ which still reflects the former calmness and balance of emotions. A century later, Peter's reproachful resistance will be expressed more vehemently; for before the thirteenth century one would hardly expect the versicle "Dost thou wash my feet?" to be represented so drastically as in the altar frontal from Copenhagen, where the bewildered apostle points his right index finger at Christ (fig. 38).¹¹⁹

Monsignore Wilpert was inclined to call this gesture of humble remonstrance and deprecation the "Roman gesture."¹²⁰ Indeed, Roman it may be called, especially when we remember St. Ambrose's antithesis: "One thing is humility, another is sanctification." For those representations express the humility of both the *lavator* and the *lavatus*, but they do not reflect the idea of sanctification. And Roman it may be called for yet another reason: that gesture is displayed in the most prominent place of the Roman world, in the *Cathedra Petri* itself, at St. Peter's in Rome, where the throne of the Prince of Apostles in its Bernini encasement has its place in the center of the *tribuna*. Here, on one of the bronze side panels of the seat (fig. 39), we find Bernini's relief of the Feet-washing.¹²¹ He shows the familiar gesture of the

¹¹⁵ J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I (Rome, 1929-36), pl. xii, fig. 5 (Crypt of St. Peter's in Rome) and fig. 4 (Arles, Mus. Lapidaire).

¹¹⁶ A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und ottonischen Kaiser*, I (Berlin, 1914), pl. lxii, fig. 147b; and Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II (New York, n.d.), pl. 37 (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, fol. 105v).

¹¹⁷ Francis Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine, Corpus Christi College MS. 286* (Cambridge, 1954), pl. i (cf. pl. 5), and p. 12 (with n. 1).

¹¹⁸ Brit. Mus., Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 20r; see G. F. Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III (London, 1910-28), pl. vii.

¹¹⁹ Poul Nørlund, *Gyldne altre: jysk metalkunst fra valdemarstiden* (Copenhagen, 1926), fig. 151 B.

¹²⁰ Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* (Freiburg, 1916), p. 853.

¹²¹ Roberto Battaglia, *La cattedra Berniniana di San Pietro* (Rome, 1943), pl. xxv (facing p. 120) and pp. 106 f. See, for the reduction to eleven apostles, above, n. 86, and the Sienese panel of the early fourteenth century (fig. 40).

disciple in an unfamiliar fashion: an almost terrified Peter remonstrates not so much, it would seem, to the lavage itself as to the passionate *baccio di piede* which, though not mentioned in the Gospel, has been taken over from both the baptismal lavage and the then customary Maundy Thursday ritual as influenced perhaps by monastic practice. The bearded apostles likewise are terrified or stunned, while the beardless youngest of the remaining eleven disciples (Judas is absent), being the only one whose eyes potentially meet the Master's, glides past — almost floats — behind St. Peter, with a nonchalant gesture of his right hand.

As opposed to the Roman gesture of remonstrance an iconographic type was introduced which usually is called "Byzantine," and of which our earliest evidence is probably the Chludov Psalter of the ninth century (fig. 41).¹²² The characteristic feature of that type is the gesture of St. Peter: he puts his right hand to his head, illustrating of course the words: "Not only the feet, but also my hands and my head." There are few variations of this gesture which actually may be considerably older than the ninth century, since the master of the Chludov Psalter was certainly not the first painter to apply that type when illustrating Psalm 50:9.¹²³ Sometimes Peter would only point at his head, as in the Berlin Gospels or the Sinai Sticherarion, both of the thirteenth century (figs. 43–44);¹²⁴ sometimes he may mournfully hold his head, as in the tenth-century Gospel-book from Patmos (fig. 42).¹²⁵ The Roman "stand-off" gesture, to be sure, was not unknown in the East — it will suffice here to recall the Rossanensis or the Leningrad Lectionary (figs. 17a; 31),¹²⁶ but it is true nonetheless that the "hand to head" picturing of Peter remained typical in Byzantine art, and in that of the Eastern Churches in general: the author of the *Painter's Guidebook* from Mount Athos mentions the gesture as the standard representation of that scene.¹²⁷ Actually, the clinging to that gesture could lead to a genuine *tour de force*, as in a curious Coptic manuscript of the thirteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale: Peter, standing, holds his head and awkwardly balances on one foot while Christ, contrary to most representations, is seated (fig.

¹²² Moscow, Historical Museum, Cod. 129, fol. 50^r.

¹²³ See Tikkanen, "Psalter-Illustration," (above, n. 47), 55, for Ps. 50:9, also for the Chludov Psalter in general.

¹²⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS. gr. qu. 66, fol. 314^r; Sinai, MS. gr. 1216, fol. 203^r, to which Professor A. M. Friend kindly called my attention, is most peculiar because the Feet-washing takes place in the open, and not in the Upper Chamber; notice also the figure of Judas.

¹²⁵ Patmos, Libreria Monte Giovanni MS. 70, fol. 177^r.

¹²⁶ See also above, n. 113.

¹²⁷ *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης: Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, German trsl. by G. Schäfer (Trier, 1855), 198 f.

45).¹²⁸ To have Christ seated — actually on a stool decked very imperially with a roll-shaped cushion — and Peter standing, while the other apostles wait their turn in file, might be meaningful because it is reminiscent of Byzantine court ceremonial. According to Codinus, the emperor was seated when on Maundy Thursday twelve well-groomed poor were led into his chamber to get their right foot washed, wiped, and kissed by the emperor.¹²⁹ It is strange, however, that this usage should be reflected in only one — Coptic — manuscript even though attention has been called recently to certain similarities between Byzantine and Fatimid court ceremonial.¹³⁰

The observation has been made that Peter holding his head sometimes shows a face that seems to express sorrow, distress, and pain; and we may wonder whether that gesture did not originally serve to express, purely iconographically, real physical pain. For indeed, Peter's gesture seems to have classical antecedents.¹³¹ A warrior, probably a wounded Philoctetes, embossed in the cheek piece of a helmet from Megara (fig. 46), holds his head with his right hand, obviously expressing the pains he suffered from

¹²⁸ Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Copte 13, fol. 259^v.

¹²⁹ Codinos, *De officialibus*, c. 12, ed. I. Becker (Bonn, 1839), 70 f. The crucial place is p. 70, 19 f: καὶ τούτου μὲν καθίσαντος, τοῦ δὲ πρωτοπαπᾶ . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀναγινώσκοντος κτλ. The interpretation of the *genetivus absolutus* (τούτου μὲν καθίσαντος) is difficult because it might refer also to the first of the twelve poor who entered with candles in their hands. However, the parallelism of the one seated and the protopapas (τούτου μὲν — τοῦ δὲ) leaves us hardly a choice: the emperor is seated, the protopapas reads the Gospel — and who, if any person, could be seated while the Gospel was read, but the emperor? This, at any rate, is the interpretation of Pétridès, "Lavement," *Échos d'Orient*, III, 324 (Treitinger, *Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, 126 f, unfortunately did not paraphrase this place). I am grateful to Dr. George Stamires, of the Institute for Advanced Study, at Princeton, for giving me additional arguments supporting this interpretation, and to Professor R. J. H. Jenkins, of the University of London, for expressing his opinion and for calling my attention to the study quoted below, n. 130.

¹³⁰ See M. Canard, "Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin: Essai de comparaison," *Byzantion*, XXI (1951), 355–420, who shows that there were similarities of ceremonial between Fatimid Egypt and Byzantium, but admits also (418 ff) that these similarities may just as well betray little more than a common oriental origin. The question arises whether in Coptic circles it could have been known what the Feet-washing ceremonial was like in Constantinople — provided that the interpretation of the Codinus passage be correct; for Professor Milton Anastos kindly informed me that in his opinion the *genetivus absolutus* referred to the first of the twelve poor men, and not to the emperor. — In a Western miniature (*Seligmann Sammlung*, H. Paul and P. Graupe [Berlin, 1930], pl. XLIV, fig. 140) Peter is standing upright while Christ performs his humble service with bended knees; but in this picture, the ceremonious details of B.N. Copte 13 are lacking.

¹³¹ Mrs. Dora Panofsky was kind enough to call my attention to this fact, and to place at my disposal the iconographic material collected by her. The interrelations between the antique medical scenes and the mediaeval ritual lavings have been noticed also by Eitrem, "Sainte ablution" (above, n. 14), 161, by Sudhoff (below, nos. 141, 143), and Miss Milne (see note 133).

a wound in his leg.¹³² This may prompt us, for what it is worth, to inspect the representations of medical treatments of wounds and diseases in which the *νίπτηρ* or *ποδανίπτηρ*, the foot-basin, is often displayed.

In the first place, we should recall that — very different from modern customs — a footbath belonged to the furniture of an antique dining-room, because banquet guests had their feet washed before they lay down for the meal.¹³³ On a Corinthian jar we see a servant performing that lowly service to a diner (fig. 48),¹³⁴ and we may think of Plato's *Symposium* (175 a): "Then Agathon said to the servants: 'Wash Alcibiades, servants, that he may recline as the third with us.'" Not to mention many similar places in Greek literature,¹³⁵ we need think only of Herodotus' famous story about the golden foot-bath of Amasis, which later was worked into an image of a god — a story often referred to by early Christian apologetics in order to argue against image worship and prove the base nature of the pagan deities in general¹³⁶ — to understand that a *νίπτηρ* naturally was found also in the Upper Chamber, at least according to the report of the Fourth Gospel. That useful basin, however, also served medical purposes, as may be gathered not only from inscriptions in Epidaurus but also from numerous pictures.¹³⁷ An *aryballos*, an oil-flask, in the Louvre displays a full clinical scene with a foot-bath in the center (fig. 49).¹³⁸ A terracotta relief from the necropolis of the Isola Sacra shows a complete medical *instrumentarium* while the physician treats the patient whose foot is in the basin (fig. 50).¹³⁹ Our illustrated medical manuscripts, it is true, are of a late date; but as in the herbals, in astronomic-astrological and other scientific works, the manuscript illustrations were derived from late antique models.¹⁴⁰ In a Viennese

¹³² L. von Sybel, "Zwei Bronzen," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, II (1887), 15 ff, and pl. I.

¹³³ The remarks following here are drawn from the rich material collected by Miss Marjorie J. Milne, "A Greek Footbath in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *American Journal of Archeology*, XLVIII (1944), 26-63, esp. 30 ff; see 31, n. 40, for the footbath as "a piece of dining room furniture."

¹³⁴ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Bibliothèque Nationale*, fasc. 1, ed. S. Lambrino (Paris, 1930), pl. 17, 4; Milne, 56, No. 40.

¹³⁵ Plato, *Symp.* 175A; Plutarch, *Phocion*, c. XX; Milne, 31, n. 39.

¹³⁶ Herod., II, 172 f; see Milne, 32, and the passages from Christian authors collected by her in n. 44.

¹³⁷ Milne, 31, n. 38.

¹³⁸ E. Pottier, "Une clinique grecque au V^e siècle," *Monuments Piot*, XIII (1906), 148 ff, pls. XIII, XIV, 1; Milne, 53, No. 13.

¹³⁹ Guido Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), 251, fig. 149.

¹⁴⁰ For the general problem, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), with the literature on p. 4, n. 3; see also his study on "The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations," *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*

medical codex we see the physician kneading the leg of the patient over a *ποδανίπτηρ* (fig. 47a-b),¹⁴¹ a motion found not rarely in representations of the *pedilavium*; for example, in a painting on a twelfth-century Pisan crucifix where, as so often, Christ rather kneads the leg than washes the foot of Peter (fig. 52).¹⁴² And in the same Vienna medical codex we find not only the foot-basin, but also a patient holding his head while bathing his feet (fig. 47c).¹⁴³

It would be beside the point to carry the medical relations too far; yet it is not at all devious to associate the medical treatment with the laving on Maundy Thursday, which was, according to Origen, a washing of the "feet of the soul."¹⁴⁴ Holy Thursday was, if any day, the medical day of the liturgical year, on which *Christus medicus* was peculiarly present. God the Physician and Christ as the *ἰατρὸς Σωτήρ*, the one "giving medical treatment to the sufferings of all souls and healing the afflictions of the bodies," were invoked time and time again on that day in the rite of the Consecration of the Holy Oils of the Eastern Church: *ἰατρὲ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων . . . ὁ μόνος ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων ἰατρός*, "Physician of the souls and the bodies. . . . The only physician of souls and bodies"¹⁴⁵ — such were the invocations which in great variety were repeated at the Maundy service.¹⁴⁶ Also in the

(Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952), 244–266. See also Sudhoff (next note) p. 105: ". . . der Antike entstammendes ursprüngliches Illustrationsgut" (cf. p. 80).

¹⁴¹ Karl Sudhoff, "Szenen aus der Sprechstunde und bei Krankenbesuchen des Arztes in mittelalterlichen Handschriften," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, X (1917), 71 ff. and 105 ff; his material derives chiefly from Pseudo-Apuleius MSS, especially from the Vienna, Nat. Bibl., Cod. 93 (thirteenth century); see pl. II, fig. 5 (fol. 9^v) and pl. VI, fig. 13 (fol. 43^v).

¹⁴² Pisa, Museo Civico, right arm of a Cross (twelfth or thirteenth century); Princeton Art Department photograph.

¹⁴³ Sudhoff, *op. cit.*, pl. x, fig. 62, and p. 122, where he mentions the connections with the Feet-washing of the apostles.

¹⁴⁴ Origen, *On Jeremiah*, 1, 9 = *Fragmente aus der Prophetenkatene*, Nr. XXIII, ed. Erich Klostermann (Origen, III = GCS., VI), 246: *πόδας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκαθαρσίαν (καὶ) δεηθῆναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*. Origen speaks often about "the feet of our soul"; see, e.g., *In Isaiam Homilia*, VI, 3, ed. W. A. Baehrens (Origen, VIII = GCS., XXXIII), 273, 3: *animae vestrae pedes lavare*; also *In Ezechielem Homilia*, II, 4, *ibid.*, p. 346, 15: *firmos animae pedes habere*. The expression passed on to the prayers; cf. Teodoro Minisci, "Le preghiere opisthambonoi," (above, n. 35), 61, no. 28, lines 16 ff: . . . *ἀπόπλυνον τοὺς ψυχικοὺς καὶ σωματικοὺς πόδας*.

¹⁴⁵ *Euchologion* (Rome, 1873), 182 (the *Kathisma*): *ὁ ἰατρὸς καὶ βοηθὸς τῶν ἐν πόνοις· ὁ λυτρωτὴς τε καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ἐν νόσοις*; also p. 183 (the *Kontakion*): *Σῶτερ μόνος θεός· πάντων ἰατρῶν πάθῃ τε τῶν ψυχῶν· καὶ σωμάτων τὰ συντρίμματα . . .* See also *Euchologion*, 190 f, 196, in the prayer of the priest. Actually the whole *Akolouthia* is interspersed with medical symbols.

¹⁴⁶ See also the inscription of Timgad: *Christe, tu solus medicus sanctis et penitentibus*, ed. P. Monceaux, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1920), 78 f, and its Greek parallel from Frikyā, in Syria: *ἰατρὸς καὶ λύσις κακῶν*; see F. J. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ: *Das Fischesymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*, I (Rome, 1910), 253, n. 25. Both inscrip-

Western Church the services on the *Feria quinta* have retained some of that peculiarly medical essence.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, Origen actually said that at the Feet-washing on Holy Thursday Christ acted like the wise physician who first treats the sick needing treatment most – that is, Judas – and who last treats the patient being in best shape and therefore needing treatment least: Peter.¹⁴⁸ And in an anonymous sermon ascribed to Fulgentius, Christ asks Peter why he, still being sick, wards off the hand of the physician.¹⁴⁹ It makes no sense to press the medical metaphor and to overestimate its relevance. When, however, the statement is made that the Byzantine custom of representing Peter holding his head was “un-Roman” because this gesture was “too poor and too paltry to be Roman,”¹⁵⁰ one may wonder whether this un-Roman paltriness did not have its roots in a stratum which Rome has very often disregarded or missed.

The so-called Byzantine gesture of Peter made its appearance early in Western art, about the late tenth century, when it is found in an Antiphony of St. Gall (fig. 54).¹⁵¹ It is shown, around A.D. 1050, in a Cottonian Psalter which still reflects some of the elegance, liveliness, and directness of the

tions are quoted by R. Arbesmann, “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine,” *Traditio*, X (1954), I, n. 1.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, the *Exorcismus olei* in the Mozarabic rite; *Liber Ordinum*, ed. Férotin (Paris, 1904), 10: . . . nisi te, Christe, . . . peritissimum medicum te imploramus . . . Similarly in the *Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883), 257. See also *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Wilson, 65 (*Tu eius medere vulneribus*); 65 and 67: (*et medicinam tribue vulneratis*).

¹⁴⁸ Origen, *In Ioannem*, XXXII, 4 ff (on John 13:6 ff), ed. Preuschen (GCS., X = Origen, IV; Berlin, 1903), 433 ff, esp. 435, 18 ff. The metaphor of Christ the Physician (see Matthew 9:12; Mark 2:17; Luke 5:31, etc.) is very common in Origen; see the passages collected in the new edition of Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, c. 29, by H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris, 1930), 26 and 109, with additional passages contributed by A. Baumstark, in: *Oriens Christianus*, III. Ser., 9 (= vol. XXXI; 1934), 125. Also, Jerome, *In Marcum*, I, 29, ed. G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III:2 (Maredsou, 1897), 337, 14, depends on Origen: *Egregius medicus [Jesus] et verus est archiater. Medicus Moyses, medicus Esaias, medicus omnes sancti. Sed iste archiater est*. See, in general, A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I (4th ed., Leipzig, 1924), 129 ff; F. J. Dölger, “Der Heiland,” *Antike und Christentum*, VI (1950), 241 ff; Leonardo Olschki, “The Wise Men of the East in Oriental Tradition: 1. Jesus the Physician,” *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, ed. Walther J. Fischel (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 375–381, with nos. 25 ff (on pages 391 f), who considers a possible later influence of Manichean concepts on St. Augustine; however, the *Christus medicus* image was current long before Augustine; see also Arbesmann (above, n. 146), 1–28, esp. 27 f.

¹⁴⁹ (Ps.-) Fulgentius, *Sermo XXV* (“De lavandis pedibus”), *PL.*, LXV, 892A: *Adhuc quasi delicatus aegrotus [Petrus] repellis medici manus? Curam bonam vis recusare?*

¹⁵⁰ Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1917), p. 853: “In der Tat ist er [der Gestus] zu kleinlich, um römisch zu sein, und kommt erst später auf.”

¹⁵¹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 390–391 (Antiphony); Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1912), pl. LXVIII, fig. 2.

Utrecht Psalter (fig. 53).¹⁵² And it was received, above all, by the artists at the abbey of Monte Cassino where Greek and Latin orbits of culture intersected. We find that type, for example, in Formia, in the neighborhood of Monte Cassino (fig. 51);¹⁵³ but above all we find it in the Casket of Farfa, which is of peculiar interest here because the Feet-washing appears in closest connection with the Baptism of Christ in Jordan (fig. 57).¹⁵⁴ Those two scenes appear also together in a portable altar from the Rhine, of ca. 1160, where they are connected with the Crucifixion and the Empty Tomb (fig. 58).¹⁵⁵ Do we have to assume that in those cases the baptismal concept of the laving still was cooperative, or that Ambrose's comparison of the reluctant John the Baptist with the reluctant Peter was effective? After all, the Ambrosian writings, his *De mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis*, were not forgotten.

In the later Middle Ages, the "Byzantine" gesture dominated in the West, whereas the "Roman" gesture became comparatively rare. Again, it would go much too far to claim without qualification that this Byzantine type was that of "sanctification" in the Ambrosian sense, or that, especially in the later Middle Ages, the artists were still aware of the fact that this gesture testified to Peter's "devotion and faith," according to Ambrose,¹⁵⁶ as distinguished from humility and charity. Referring, however, as it does, to the implicit promise "If I wash thee not, thou wilt have no part with me," and to Peter's ensuing demand to have also his hands and his head washed, the Byzantine gesture stresses undoubtedly the more affirmative aspects of Peter's attitude, whereas the Roman gesture brought to the fore the aspects of reluctance and even resistance on the part of the disciple. This difference has been indicated by the artist who, in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, sculptured the reliefs of San Pietro in Spoleto (fig. 55) where both scenes are represented: in the first, Christ is shown, carrying basin and towel and approaching St. Peter who objects and modestly tries to keep his Master away; in the second, Christ washes the feet of the apostle who now demands also the washing of his head.¹⁵⁷ The first scene may be called

¹⁵² British Museum, Cottonian MS. Tib. C. VI, fol. 11^v.

¹⁵³ Sant' Angelo in Formis (near Capua), Fresco in the nave, South Wall (Photo Anderson 27185); see G. de Jerphanion, "Le cycle iconographique de Sant' Angelo in Formis," *La voix des monuments* (Paris, 1930), pl. LVI, p. 279; see also Herbert Bloch (next note), 200, n. 114.

¹⁵⁴ Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 (1946), 207 ff and fig. 253, with full bibliography in n. 144.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Fritz Witte, *Tausend Jahre deutscher Kunst am Rhein*, I (Berlin, 1932), 56, and II, pl. 47.

¹⁵⁶ Above, n. 111.

¹⁵⁷ Princeton Art Department photograph. The Church of St. Peter's in Spoleto was partly destroyed in 1329, but the sculptures of the exterior are obviously of an earlier date. See also fig. 15, the *Biblia pauperum* (above, n. 23), where Peter makes both gestures at the same time.

“negative” and the second “positive”; and together or in juxtaposition they render an illustration of Ambrose’s words: “One thing is humility, another is sanctification.”

However that may be, the two artistic formulae imply an antithesis comparable to the one of “humility” and “sanctification,” of charitable and baptismal aspects of the same ritual, though it would be hazardous to identify, especially in the later period, every representation of Peter “hand to head” with the baptismal and sacramental interpretation of the Feet-washing in an early age. Iconographic types have a life of their own. They survive although (and sometimes because) their original meaning is lost and forgotten; and in that respect iconographic formulae do not differ considerably from liturgical formulae.

V

Of the liturgical staging of the Maundy Thursday washing there have been handed down to us vivid descriptions from both the mediaeval Eastern Church, where that ceremony no longer is generally practiced,¹⁵⁸ and the mediaeval Western Church, where the *Mandatum* actually has survived.¹⁵⁹ The details of the ceremonial, interesting though they are, seem of minor importance here. While the Gospel of John was read, the officiating Church dignitary – pope or bishop or abbot – re-enacted the humble services rendered by Christ to his disciples, and a miniature in the *Bible moralisée* (fig. 56) may remind us once more that emperors and kings also washed on that day the feet of twelve poor men who, in return for lending themselves to that performance, received their *presbyterium*, the Maundy Penny.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Pétridès, “Lavement,” *Échos d'Orient*, III, 321–326, gives a detailed description, chiefly on the basis of the *Typika*, and believes that the rite was introduced to Byzantium from Jerusalem in the tenth century. See Jean-Baptiste Thibaut, *Ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte à Jerusalem* (Paris, 1926), 76 f, for a description according to the *Typikon* of Jerusalem of 1122: the Patriarch is the *lavator*, the rôle of Peter is played by a metropolitan, and the other apostles are staged by two bishops, three priests, three deacons, and three subdeacons; one sings the *polychronion* to the Patriarch. The rite is still performed in Jerusalem, where Professor Carl H. Kraeling, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, attended the performance in recent years, thereby observing also the ceremonious removal of the green wrapper of a cake of – very fittingly – *Palmolive* soap. According to Pétridès, 323, the ceremony is officiated today in only three Greek churches, but it survived in Russia; see, e.g., *Berkbeck and the Russian Church*, ed. by Athelstan Riley (London and New York, 1917), 135 ff, to which Dr. Schafer Williams, in Washington, kindly called my attention. As Professor Der Nersessian informs me, the ceremonial Feet-washing continues to be performed in the Armenian Church.

¹⁵⁹ See, in general, Eisenhofer, *Liturgik*, I, 522 f, and, for many interesting details, Stiefenhofer, “Liturgische Fusswaschung” (above, n. 13).

¹⁶⁰ Laborde, *Bible moralisée*, III, pl. 485 (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 1526–27, fol. 14^v). For the royal ritual (practiced in Hapsburg Austria until the twentieth century), see, in gen-

We are interested not so much in the ritual laving itself, but rather in the antiphons which were sung while and after the officiating dignitary performed his services.¹⁶¹ The number of antiphons, their selection and their order, varied from cathedral to cathedral and monastery to monastery. Saint-Yrieix, an abbey affiliated to St. Martial in Limoges, had no less than twenty-nine antiphons sung on that occasion; others had only seven or nine. Uniformity of texts was never achieved nor aspired to during the Middle Ages, though of course certain antiphons based on John 13 or referring to Mary Magdalen when anointing the feet of Christ, will be found almost everywhere. For all those individual predilections, which resist any detailed classification, two basic sets of Maundy antiphons yet stand out clearly: one being, or gradually becoming, the Roman vulgate valid throughout the Western Church, and the other, following a tradition apparently restricted to a few French and English churches, which may be called here the non-Roman group.

It would be a most cumbersome task and perhaps not even worth the effort to investigate history and transmission of every individual *Mandatum* antiphon, although occasionally the origin of an antiphon may be rather telling. It will suffice here to indicate the hallmarks distinguishing the Roman vulgate form from the non-Roman sets of antiphons. Two tables (A and B) may illustrate the main features. In Table A six forms are found which represent, despite their lack of uniformity, the customary Western usage. The *Liber responsalis* is in many respects not at all characteristic of Roman or even Italian practice; but the *Mandatum* antiphons fall in with what later became the general custom, or perhaps was already customary at that time.¹⁶² The Lucca *Missale* of a Benedictine abbey has a "Beneventan"

eral, E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, III (Bassano, 1788), 100 (Lib. IV, c. XXII, 8, 3), whose earliest example refers to King Robert of France (996–1031); see, for Byzantium, Treitinger (above, n. 129), 126 f, and, for the West, a few remarks by Percy Ernst Schramm, "Sacerdotium und Regnum im Austausch ihrer Vorrechte," *Studi Gregoriani*, II (1947), 428 f; see, for the English Maundy Pennies, Helen Farquhar, "Royal Charities," *British Numismatic Journal*, XVI (1921–22), 195 ff. See also H. A. Daniel, *Codex liturgicus*, II, 424, for a strange incident in connection with princely Feet-washing ceremonies: Duke Maurice William of Sachsen-Weitz, originally a Protestant, embraced the Catholic faith and now ordered (April 14, 1718) twelve old men, who happened to be Lutherans, to appear for the Feet-washing — a repast following — in the princely chapel at Weyda; the result was that the twelve poor were punished and made to do public penitence in the Lutheran Church.

¹⁶¹ This subject has been carefully investigated by Bukofzer, *Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Music*, 230 ff, and little more shall be done here than to straighten out a few items. Needless to say, with regard to all musicological questions, I depend entirely upon the study of Bukofzer. See above, n. 2.

¹⁶² *PL.*, LXXVIII, 848 f. Another set of antiphons is found at Mass on Holy Thursday (*ibid.*, 766) which seems to me much more closely related to the conventional sets than the *Mandatum* set proper of the *Liber responsalis*:

peculiarity (No. 10: *Cum recubisset Dominus*) which is interspersed into a form otherwise characteristic of the Roman sets.¹⁶³ The Besançon set is conventional with one exception (No. 5), on which account it has been selected here.¹⁶⁴ The customs of the papal Curia were not a determinant factor before the thirteenth century. Besides, the papal Curia, we recall, introduced the ceremonious Feet-washing on Holy Thursday apparently only at a late date, and in the Roman *Ordines* it first appears in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the antiphons are not enumerated in those later mediaeval Roman *Ordines*,¹⁶⁶ just as they are lacking in the *Ordo Lateranensis*¹⁶⁷ and in the *Pontificale Romanae Curiae* of the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ For the later Middle Ages, however, the *Missale Romanum* of 1474 may serve as a pattern here;¹⁶⁹ it does not differ substantially from the current use which has one antiphon (No. 7: *Maneant in vobis*) in common with a probably Italian set of the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁰

1. *Coenantibus autem, accepit Jesus panem*
2. *Accepto pane Judas tradidit Dominum*
3. *Si male locutus sum, perhibe testimonium* (John 18:23)
4. *Coena facta est, dixit Jesus discipulis*
5. *Mandatum novum*
6. *Diligamus nos invicem, quia charitas ex Deo est*
7. *Si ego Dominus*
8. *In diebus illis mulier*
9. *Postquam surrexit*
10. *Ubi fratres in unum glorificant Dominum*
11. *Congregavit nos Christus*

The first three versicles, of course, refer to the Last Supper and to the treason of Judas who, by the way, has received the bread (*accepto pane*). On the other hand, the Feet-washing takes place after the Last Supper and after Judas has left (see above, nos. 81–85).

¹⁶³ For the manuscript, see Ebner, *Missale Romanum*, 65 f. For the *Mandatum* and the Beneventan features, see *Le Codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane fonds latin (XI^e siècle): Graduel Bénéventain* (Paléographie Musicale, XIV [1931]), 284 ff, pls. xxxvii–xxxviii.

¹⁶⁴ E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (Bassano, 1788), III, 110.

¹⁶⁵ See above, n. 108, for the *Ordo Romanus* X. The Feet-washing, however, is mentioned also in the *Ordines* of Benedict of St. Peter's (chap. 4) and of Cencius Savelli (c. 25); *PL.*, LXXVIII, 1040 f, 1074.

¹⁶⁶ *Ordo XIII*, c. 22, *Ordo XIV*, c. 84 (cf. c. 91), *Ordo XV*, c. 69, *PL.*, LXXVIII, 1118D, 1207C (1210D), 1311C.

¹⁶⁷ *Ordo Lateranensis*, ed. Fischer, has both a *Mandatum pauperum* (c. 118, p. 46) and a *Mandatum fratrum* (c. 133, p. 53); but only for the *Mandatum pauperum* is mention made of antiphons, beginning *Mandatum novum do vobis*.

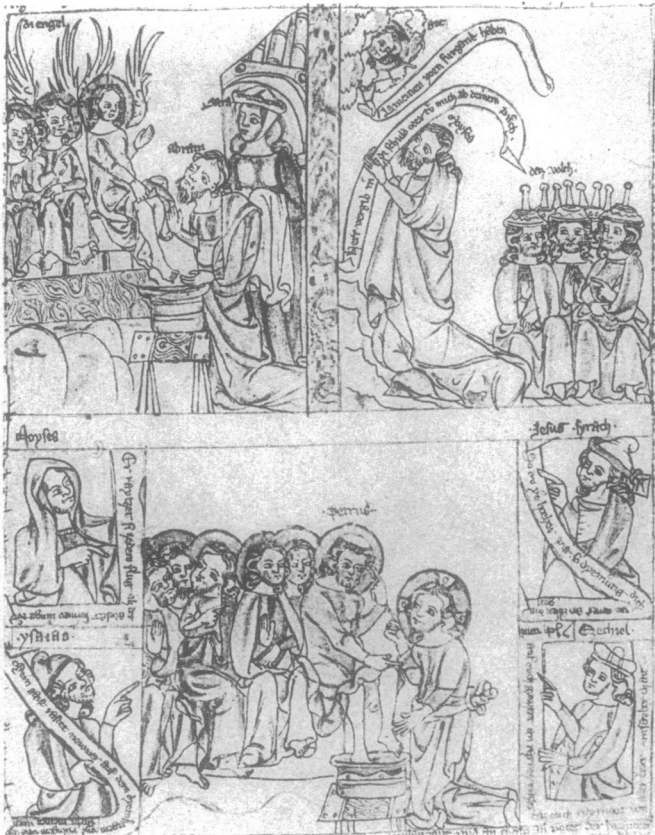
¹⁶⁸ Above, n. 108; Andrieu, *Pontifical romain*, II, 464, 552; also the Pontifical of Durandus mentions only the *Mandatum novum* antiphon; see Andrieu, III, 581.

¹⁶⁹ *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474*, ed. R. Lippe (Henry Bradshaw Society, XVII; London, 1899), 159 f, where the *caput* versicle is contained in the antiphon *Quod ego facio* (p. 160, 22).

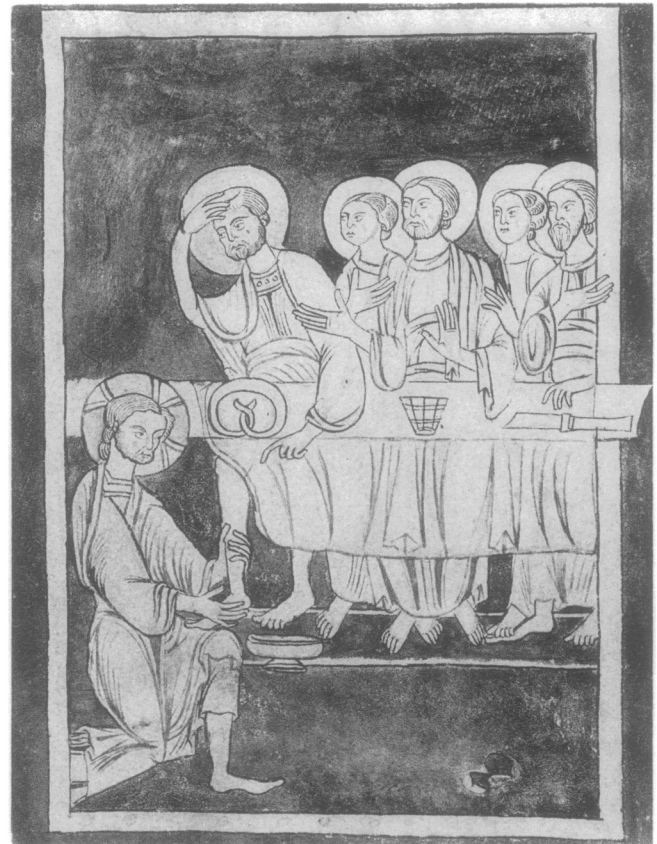
¹⁷⁰ Bukofzer, *Studies*, 234 f.



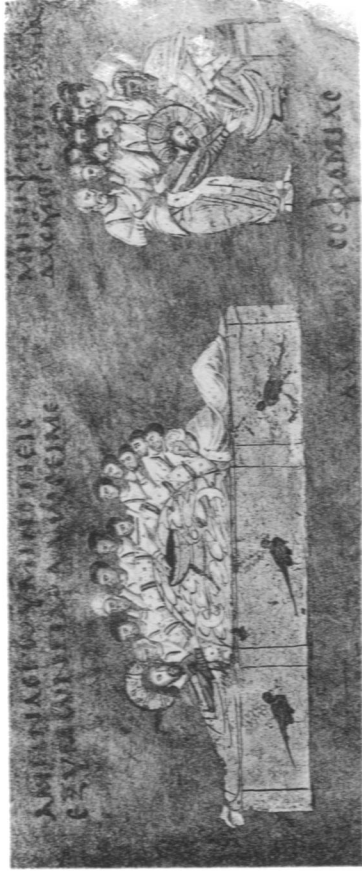
14. Bible of Floreffe. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17738, fol. 4



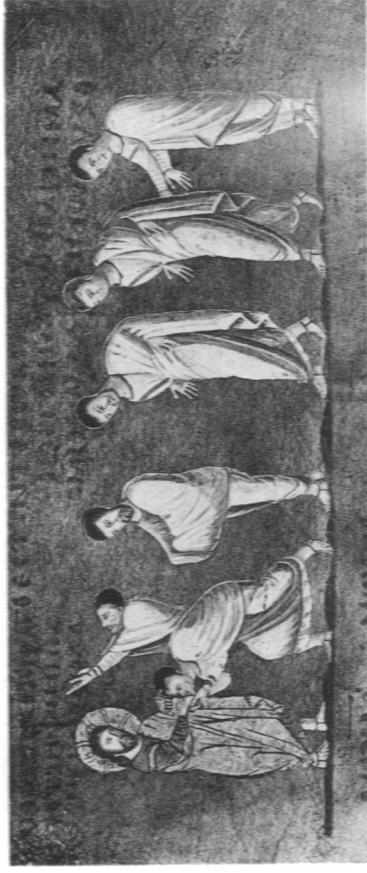
15. Biblia pauperum. Munich, Cgm. 20, fol. 10



16. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 645, fol. 4



17a. Fol. 3



17b. Fol. 3v



17c. Fol. 4
Rossano, Cathedral, Codex purpureus



18a. Fol. 127r



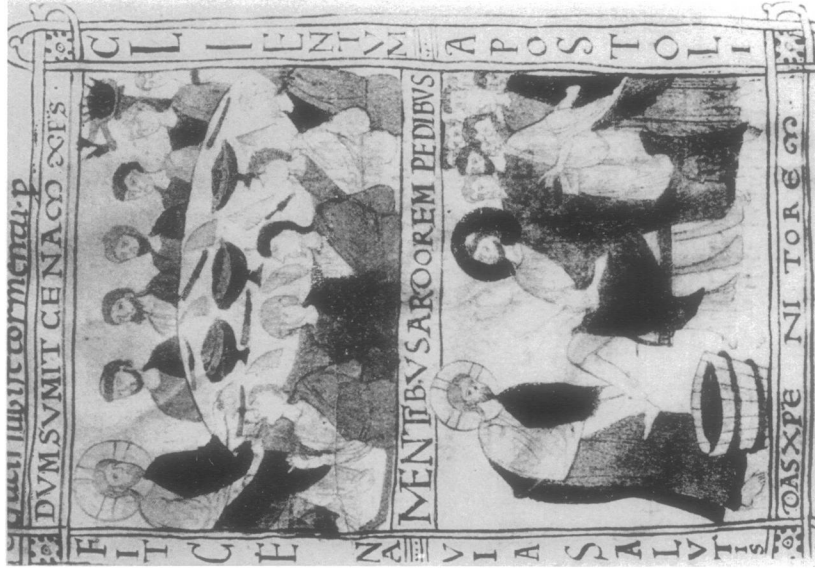
18b. Fol. 128



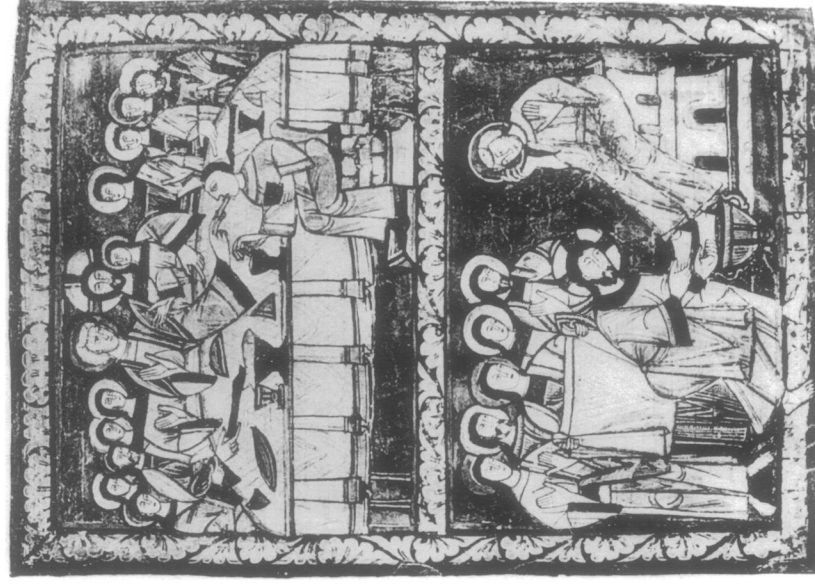
18c. Fol. 129
Vatican Syriac, 559



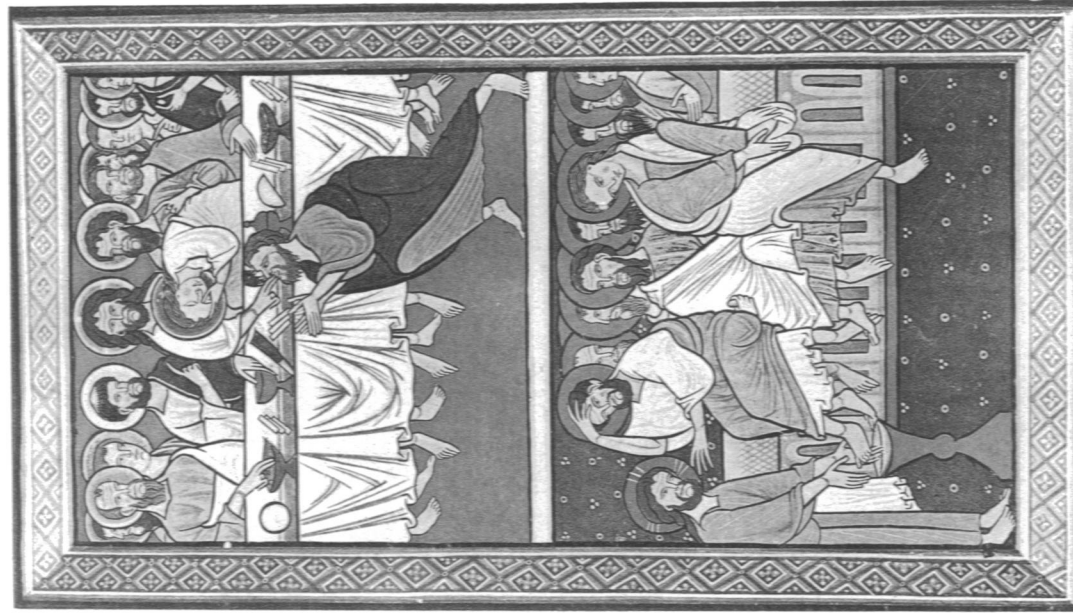
19a. 19b.
Enamel casket.
Huy-sur-Meuse



20. Ivrea, Bibl. Capit., 86, fol. 50v



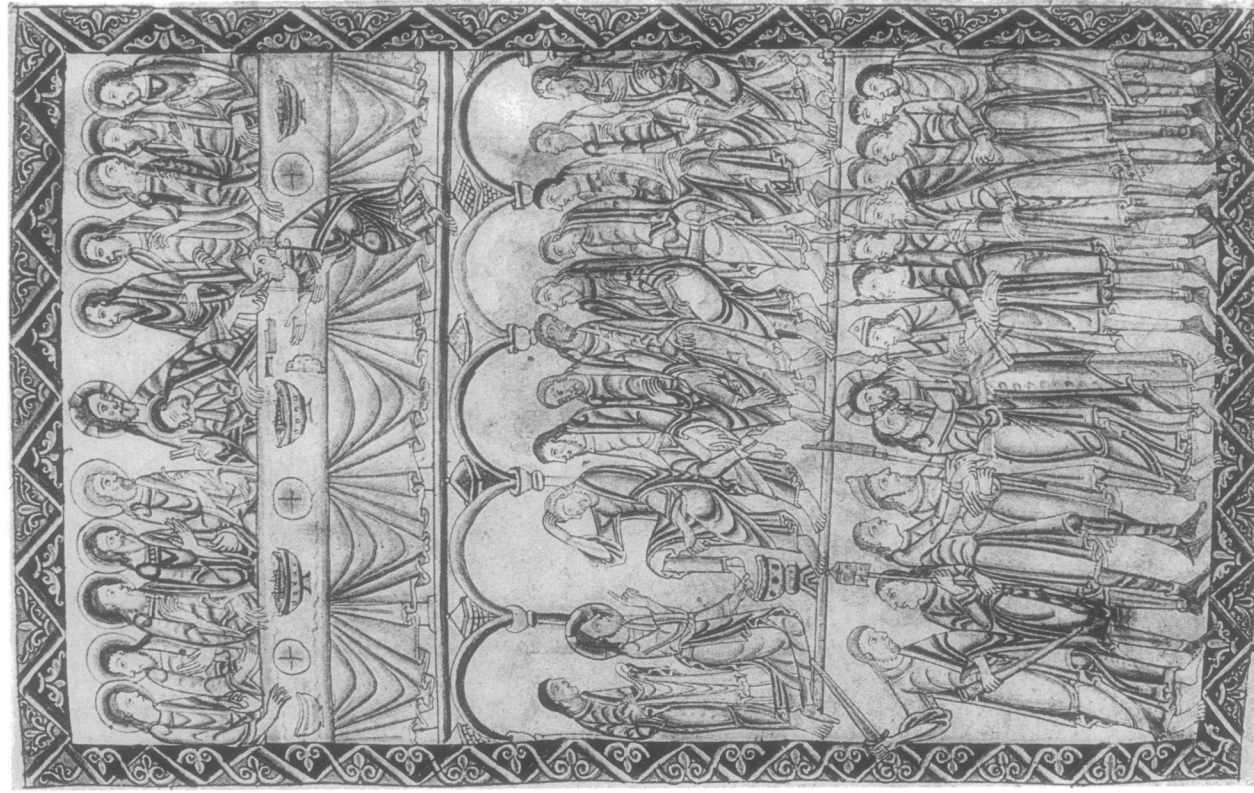
21. Gnesen, Chapter Libr., MS. Ia, fol. 45v



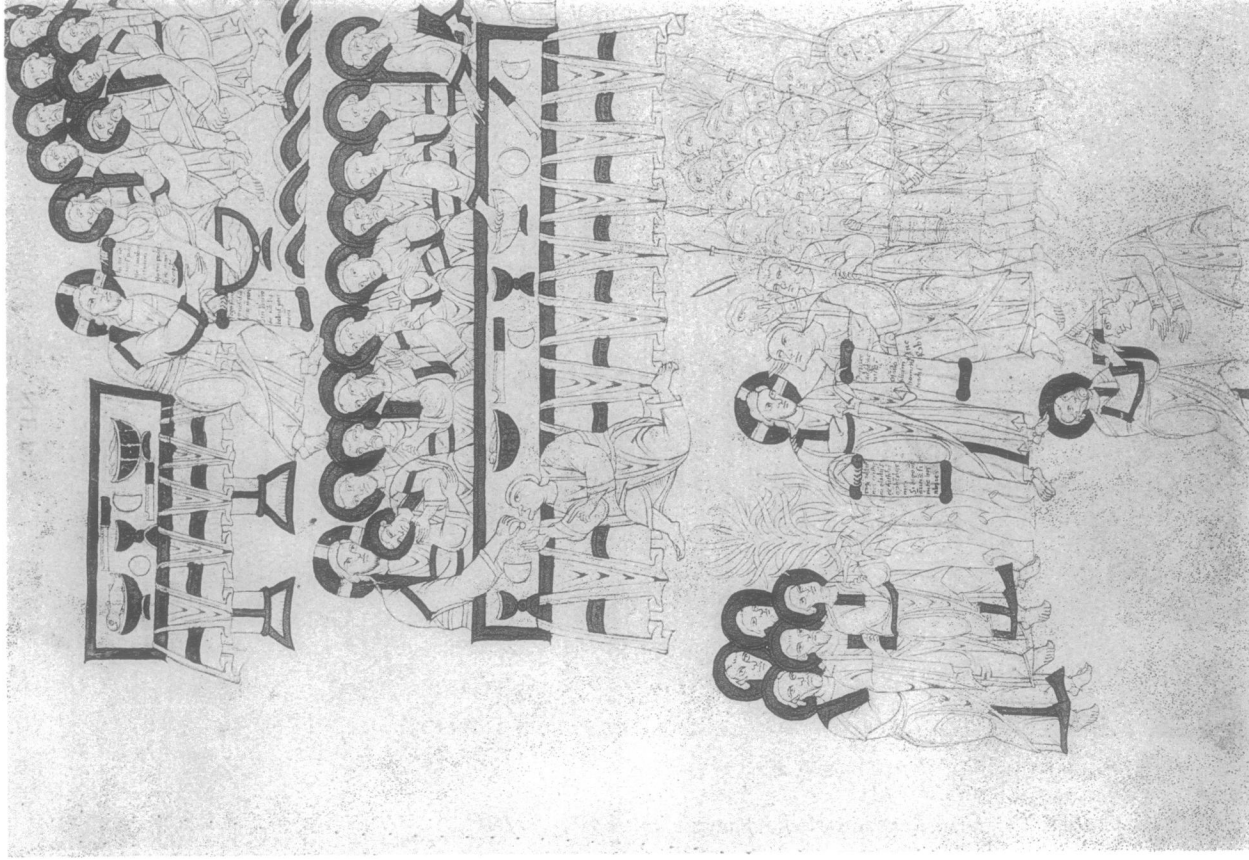
22. Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 1.D.X., fol. 4



23. Munich, Collection Drey



24. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 120, fol. 3



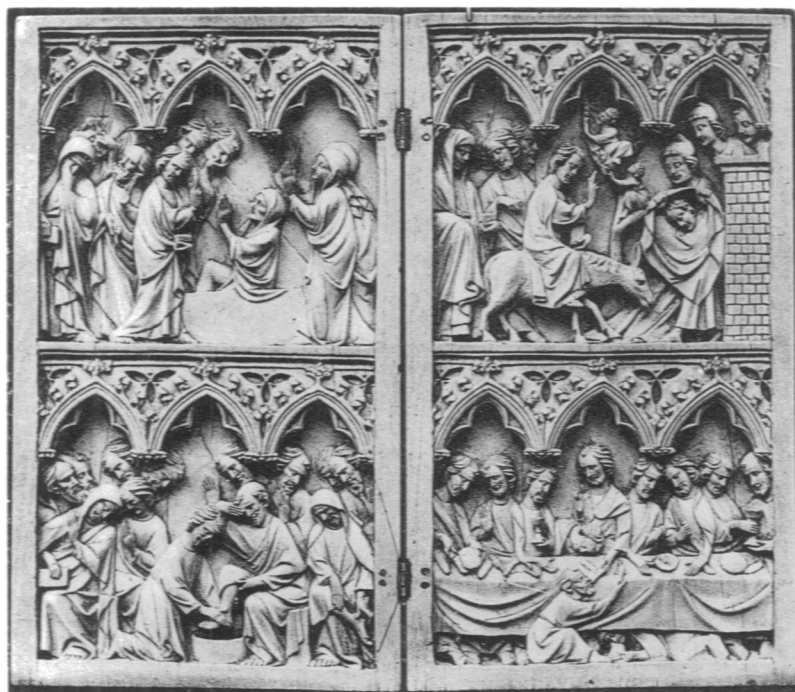
25. Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 492, fol. 100r



26. Wilten Chalice. Vienna, Kunsthistorische Sammlung



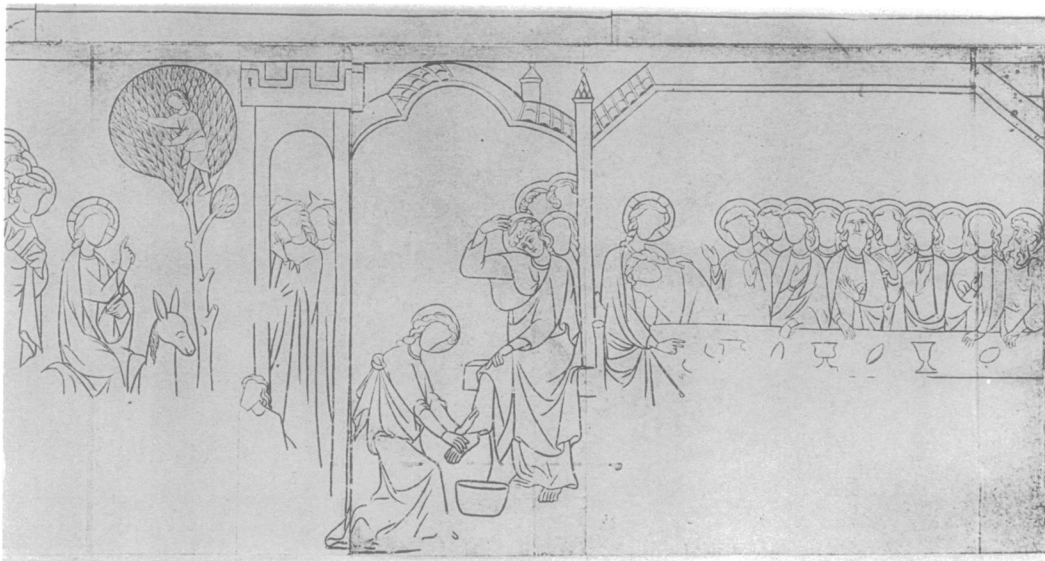
27. Psalter of St. Louis.
Paris, Arsenal, MS. lat. 1186, fol. 22



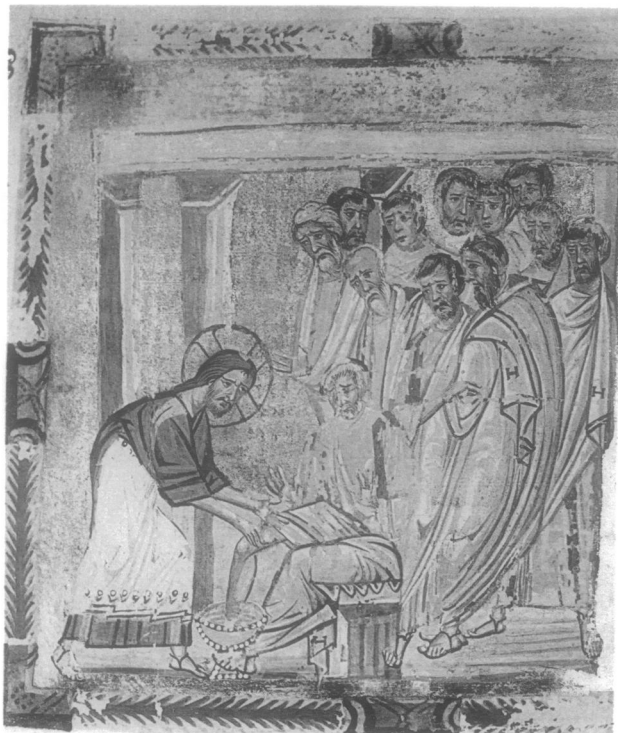
28. Ivory diptych. Paris, Collection Reubell



29. Ivory diptych, left wing. Paris, Musée de Cluny



30. Cologne, St. Caecilia, choir, fresco



31. Leningrad, Public Libr., MS. gr. 21, fol. 6r



32. Berlin, Staatsbibl., Sachau MS. 304, fol. 89



33. Early Christian sarcophagus. Rome, Crypt of St. Peter's



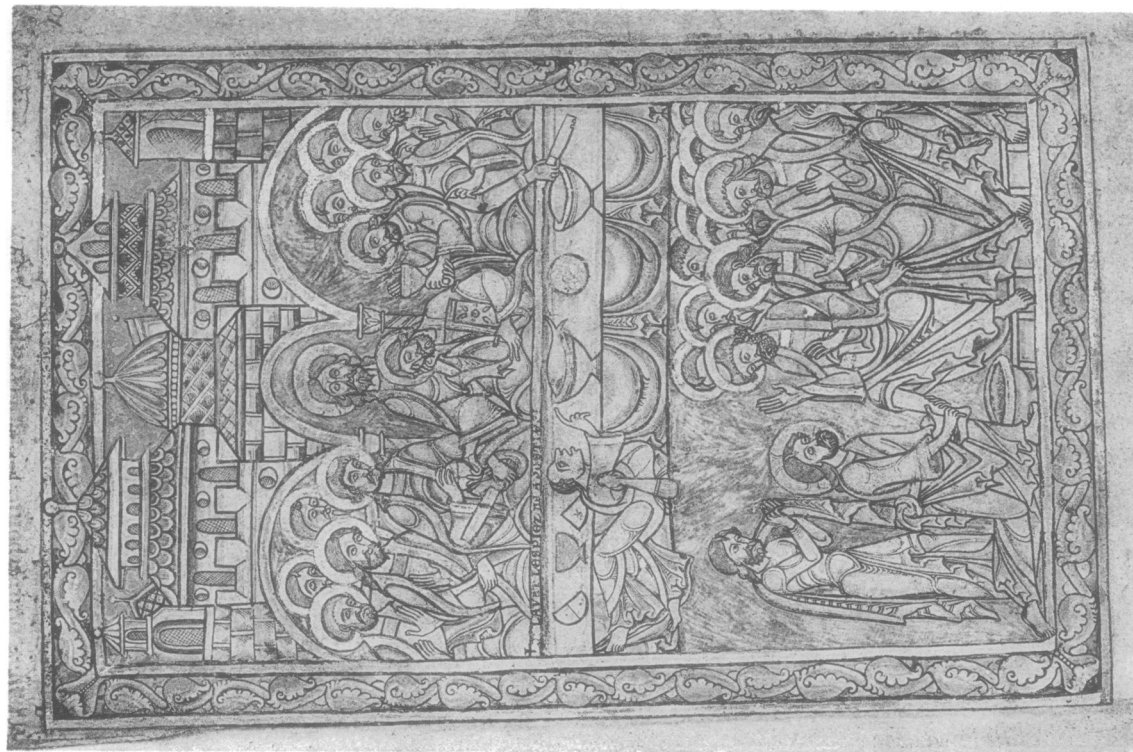
34. Early Christian sarcophagus. Arles, Musée Lapidaire



35. Ivory casket. Quedlinburg, Church Treasury



36. Gospels of Henry II. Munich, Clm. 4452, fol. 105v



37. Brit. Mus., Cotton. Nero C.IV., fol. 20



38. Altar frontal. Copenhagen, Mus. Nat.



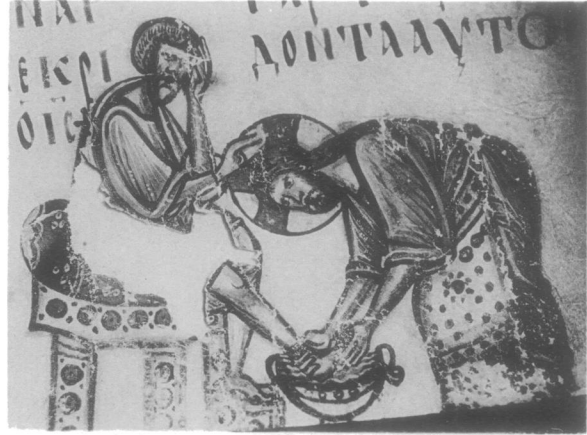
39. Bernini, Cathedra Petri, side panel. Rome, St. Peter's



40. Duccio, retable. Siena, Museo Opera del Duomo



41. Chludov Psalter, fol. 50



42. Patmos, Mon. Giovanni, MS. 70, fol. 177r



43. Sinai, MS. gr. 1216, fol. 203



44. Berlin, Staatsbibl., gr. qu. 66, fol. 314



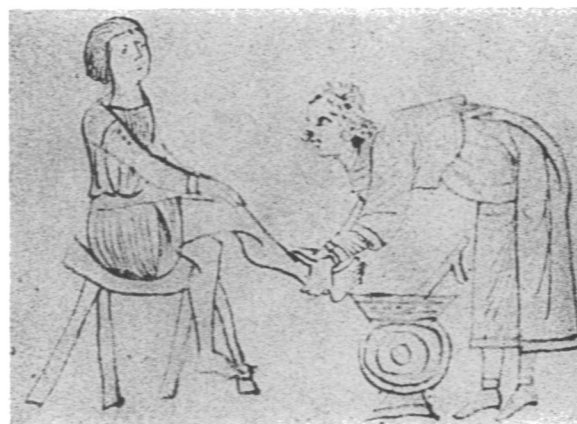
45. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Copte 13, fol. 259r



46. Helmet from Megara, cheek piece



47a. Fol. 9^v



47b. Fol. 43^v



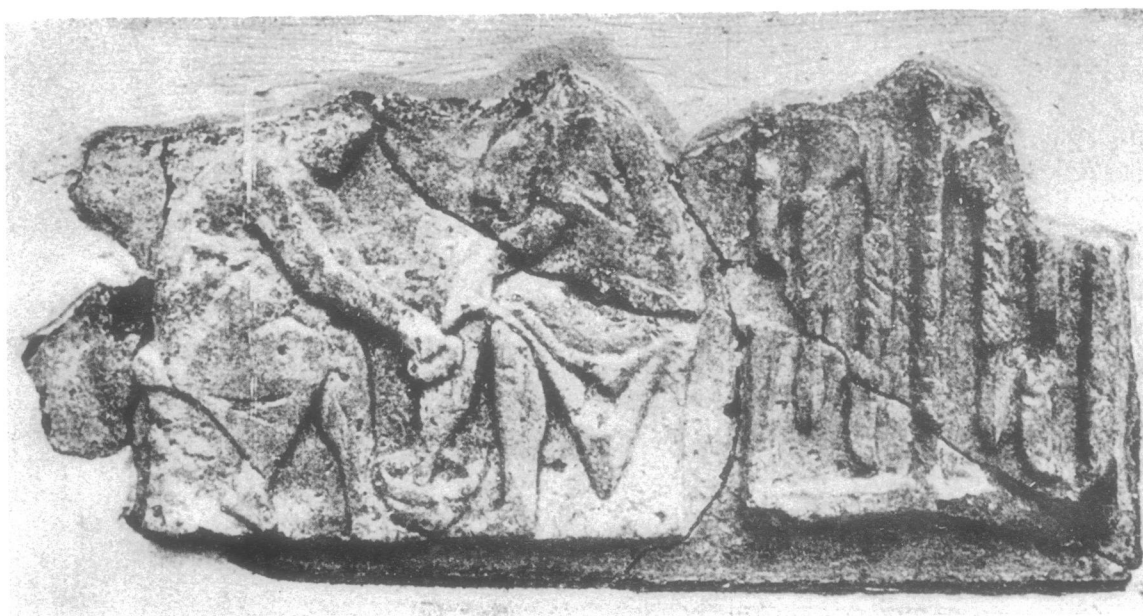
48. Black-figured jar from Corinth. Paris, Bibl. Nationale



47c. Fol. 109^v
Vienna, Nat. Bibl., Cod. 93



49. Aryballos. Louvre



50. Tomb relief from the Necropolis, Isola Sacra



51. Sant' Angelo in Formis, nave, south wall



52. Crucifix, right arm. Pisa, Museo Civico



53. Brit. Mus., Cotton. Tib. C.VI, fol. 11v



54. St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., MS. 390-391



55. Spoleto, San Pietro, west façade



56. Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 1526-27, fol. 14v



57. Casket of Farfa. Rome, S. Paolo fuori le mura



58. Portable altar from Siegburg, Rhine

Venerat ad petrum dixit ei simon non lauabis michi pedes in aeternum
 Responderit ei ihesus si non laueris pedes non habebis partem meam Domine non
 solum pedes tantum sed et manus et capita
 Benedicat dominus corda et corpora nostra et doceat super nos benedictionem
 sicut ysaac benedixit iacob manus domini super nos introitum angelum suum custodem
 qui custodiat nos in omnibus ut in posteris
 Tunc sint duo induti cappis. Et canant sic
 Nunc. Halleluia.

59. Gradual from Saint-Yrieix. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 903

Sos vocant me magister et domine et
 bene dicis sum eventum si ego laui utrosque
 pedes. **S**i ego dominus et magister
 laui pedes. **S**i ergo laui utrosque pedes
 quanto magis
 utrosque debet alter alterius laui pedes.
Hic diei festum pasche sciens
 hic quia hoc eius uenit ut transiret ex
 hoc mundo ad patrem et ce na facta
 fuit hic ite iude o pretrixit se misit aquam
 in pedum et cepit laui pedes discipu
 lo
Quod ait ad petrum dicit ei petrus
 non lauabis michi pedes in eternum respo
 dens ihc dixit si non lauero te non habebis
 partem mecum domine non tantum
 pedes meos sed et manus et ca
 pita ablutione pedum
 post hoc sermone: ac
 cipiant caritatem per unum. Quia in
 te pacis: in unum sacerdotum dicitur hab
 ere potest. Suscepit deus in te in medio et in
 mandatis mandata et est et boni et mali habuit
 et omne grande bonum. Omnis nobilitatem. Omnis
Desto quod domine officio seruimus
 me et quia tu pedes lauiare dig
 natus es tuus discipulus: ne despi
 cias opera manuum tuarum quod nobis
 retinenda mandasti. si sicut hec ex
 teriora abluuntur inquinamenta cor
 porum. sic a te omnium nostrum interi
 ora mundentur peccata. Quod ipse preare dig
 neris qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuus
 et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum amen.
 Si uero nullus esset eius sermone
 faciens: cetis ut prius pacis post ablu
 tionem pedum dicerent preces predice
 rem de legat eum. secundum iohannem. Amen
 amen dico uobis: non est seruus
 maior domino suo. ne apostolus maior eo
 qui misit illum. scribit inter omnia ca
 ritatis per unum summa caritas: et legatur
 usque ad illum locum surgite eamus
 hinc. et ita uiuamus. **H**ic erat ad
 pasche post nonam horam dei
 precebat sacerdos ad altare indit uos
 bi sacerdotalibus et casula in diacono
 et subdiacono et cetis ministris alia
 rit qui omnes sunt in albis. Et tunc
 precebat acolitus ad legendum hanc le
 ctionem siue titulo hoc in me ipso.
Tribulatione sua: mane surgens
 ad me. Venite et reuertamini ad dominum
 quia ipse cepit et sanabit nos: per
 ciet et cinabit nos. Quia sicabit nos
 post duos dies in die tertia suscita
 bit nos: et uiuemus in conspectu eius.
 Sciemus sequemur: ut cognosca
 mus dominum. Quasi diluentibus parat

TABLE A

<i>Liber responsalis s. IX</i>	<i>Lucca MS. 606 s. X-XI</i>	<i>Besançon s. XI</i>
1. Mandatum novum	1. Postquam surrexit	1. Mandatum novum
2. Postquam surrexit	2. Tu mihi lavas	2. Ante diem festum
3. Cum surrexisset	3. Mandatum novum	3. Postquam surrexit
4. In diebus illis	4. Si ego	4. Domine, tu mihi
5. Diligamus nos	5. In hoc cognoscent	5. <i>Dñe, non tantum pedes</i>
6. Si ego Dominus	6. In diebus illis	6. Si ego Dominus
7. In hoc cognoscent	7. Sinite mulierem	7. Diligamus nos
8. Locutus est omnipotens	8. Diligamus nos	8. In diebus illis
9. Discumbens Dñs accepit panem	9. Mandatum novum <i>Post lavatum</i>	9. Ubi caritas
10. Locutus est Dominus	10. Cum recubisset Dñs	10. Christus descendit
11. Ubi est caritas et dilectio	11. Ubi caritas et amor	
12. Domine tu mihi lavas		
13. <i>Domine, non tantum pedes</i>		
14. Vos vocatis me Magister		
15. Mulier quae erat		
16. Maria autem unxit		
17. Congregavit nos Christus		
<i>Roman Missal of 1474</i>	<i>Italian s. XV</i>	<i>Roman Current Use</i>
1. Postquam surrexit	1. Dominus Jesus	1. Mandatum novum
2. Dominus Jesus	2. Postquam surrexit	2. Postquam surrexit
3. Benedixisti Domine	3. Si ego Dominus	3. Dominus Jesus
4. Exemplum enim dedi	4. Vos vocatis me Magister	4. Domine tu mihi
5. Quam dilecta	5. Mandatum novum	5. Si ego Dominus
6. Deus miseriatur	6. In hoc cognoscent	6. In hoc cognoscent
7. Congregavit nos	7. In diebus illis	7. Maneant in vobis
8. Mulier quae erat	8. Maria ergo unxit	8. Benedicta sit s. Trin.
9. Domine, tu mihi	9. Domine, tu mihi	9. Ubi caritas et amor
10. Quod ego facio	10. Caritas est summum	
11. Si ego Dominus	11. Ubi est caritas	
12. In hoc cognoscent	11a. Christus descendit	
13. Benedicta sit Trinitas	12. Diligamus nos	
14. Ubi caritas et amor	13. Ubi fratres in unum	
	14. Congregavit nos in unum	
	15. Maneant in nobis	
	16. Benedicat nos Deus	

Great though the variety of these antiphons is, the sets have certain features in common. There are the "historical" antiphons referring, as is natural, to John 13 and to its parallel, Mary Magdalen anointing the feet of Christ (John 12:1-8). Characteristically, however, the full emphasis was laid not on the historical events, but on the more general idea of *Caritas*, which in turn led to a selection of antiphons having nothing to do with the lavage itself.

The last three antiphons of the current Roman Missal exhibit this feature very clearly. *Maneant in vobis fides, spes, caritas, tria haec*, which is found in early times as a *pedilavium* antiphon, is taken from I Corinthians 13:13. It would be tempting to assume that the words *tria haec* prompted the selection of the ensuing antiphon *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas*, which forms also the Introit of the Feast of Holy Trinity.¹⁷¹ However, the Trinity antiphon probably came into the Maundy rites for other and better reasons and from another source. Above all, it should not be separated from the last antiphon of the present rite to which it originally belonged: *Ubi caritas et amor, Deus ibi est*. This antiphon, ancient and beautiful as it is, is (so to speak) the Song of Songs of the idea of charity.¹⁷² It is taken from a chant which can be traced back to Carolingian times,¹⁷³ when it still contained a *Multos annos* acclamation for the emperor. For, *Ubi caritas et amor* belonged to the *Caritas* chants sung in the refectory, when the monks united for a *caritas*, an extra allotment of wine granted to them on certain feast days and anniversaries — the so-called *caritas in refectorio*. Obviously, *caritas* had in this case a totally different meaning: it was a grant to the monks on special occasions and it had, all by itself, nothing to do with the "New Commandment" of mutual love of which the Fourth Gospel speaks. However, the *caritas in refectorio* is yet linked to the idea of Charity of John 13; for the extra wine allotment was granted to the monks especially after the weekly washing of the feet of the poor, and after the *Mandatum* proper on Holy Thursday.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ See, e.g., below, Table B., Saint-Yrieix, No. 8, for *Maneant in vobis*; for the Trinity Introit, see Bukofzer, 236.

¹⁷² Bernhard Bischoff, "Caritas-Lieder," *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann . . . dargebracht* (Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1950), 165-186, has excellently demonstrated the connection of *Mandatum* and *Caritas* chant; see p. 167, n. 9, for the Trinity.

¹⁷³ For the history of that chant, see Dom André Wilmart, "L'hymne de la charité pour le Jeudi-Saint," reprinted in his *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1932), 26-36.

¹⁷⁴ The acclamatory last versicle originally ran:

Et pro vita dominorum exoremus
Multos ut cum ipsis annos gaudeamus,
Propter quorum hic amorem congregamur.

Cf. Bischoff, 170. It was obviously on the occasion of a special *refectio* granted to the

This explains why, for example, in the Lucca manuscript the antiphon *Ubi caritas et amor* follows after the rubric *Post lavatum* — that is, as a transition to or in anticipation of the *caritas in refectorio* when the whole chant was sung. It explains also why this antiphon has invariably concluded the Roman sets ever since the later Middle Ages, and sporadically also in earlier times, even though it may not always be recognizable: the antiphon *Christus descendit*, for example, which concludes the Besançon set, is simply the continuation of *Ubi caritas et amor*. But whatever the origin of the whole chant may be, the antiphon — blending, as it were, the *caritas* offered to the poor and the *caritas in refectorio* offered to the monks — stresses powerfully the concept of charity itself which, as St. Ambrose confirms, was in Rome the main content of the *pedilavium*.

This impression is corroborated by the choice of historic antiphons: they, too, emphasize the aspects of charity and humility. To be sure, the antiphon *Domine, tu mihi lavas pedes?* is taken from the dialogue between Christ and Peter, and the *Liber responsalis* as well as Besançon still insert the antiphon *Domine, non tantum pedes*. On the whole, however, the Roman usage selected the versicles which, according to Ambrose, testified to Peter's humility. And is it not like unto a projection of that ancient fourth-century controversy between Milan and Rome when we find that the versicle of Peter's "devotion and faith," by means of which Ambrose tried to defend the baptismal essence of the laving, is omitted entirely in the Roman Missals? For in the antiphon John 13:6–8 the Roman Missal, including the current use, very strangely skips the decisive versicle: *Non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput*.

While this versicle was, we might say, neglected or even conspicuous for its absence from Roman usage, it was conspicuous for its presence in the usage of some French and English churches and monasteries. The peculiarity of the non-Roman sets of antiphons can be easily gathered from the forms assembled in Table B: the Gradual of Saint-Yrieix of the eleventh century,¹⁷⁵ the Gradual from Rouen of the thirteenth century,¹⁷⁶ a Paris Missal of the same date,¹⁷⁷ and the Sarum Missal of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁸

monks for their prayers on royal anniversaries (not only anniversaries of the death, but also of coronations, anointments, birth- and wedding-days), that those acclamations were voiced in the refectory. I shall treat the very complex problem separately.

¹⁷⁵ *Le Codex 903 de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris: Graduel de Saint-Yrieix* (Paléographie musicale, XIII; [Tournay, 1925]), fol. 134.

¹⁷⁶ *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIII^e siècle*, ed. by V. H. Lorient, Dom Pothier et Abbé Colette (Rouen, 1907), II, fol. 89.

¹⁷⁷ Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 1112, fol. 90^v; Bukofzer, 231 and 234.

¹⁷⁸ J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916), 108; see Bukofzer, 232, for a great number of Sarum manuscripts and later prints. See also Walter Howard Frere, *The Use*

TABLE B

Saint-Yrieix s. XI

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Mandatum novum | 17. Congregavit nos Christus |
| 2. Postquam surrexit | 18. Congregavit nos in unum |
| 3. Si ego Dominus | 19. Caritas est summum |
| 4. Domine, tu mihi lavas | 20. Surgit Jesus |
| 5. In diebus illis | 21. Vos vocatis me magister |
| 6. Diligamus nos | 22. Misit denique |
| 7. Ubi fratres in unum | 23. Postquam ergo |
| 8. Maneant in nobis | 24. Coena facta |
| 9. Manete autem | 25. <i>Ante diem festum</i> |
| 10. In hoc cognoscent | 26. <i>Venit ad Petrum</i> |
| 11. Deus caritas est | 27. Benedicat Dominus |
| 12. Ubi est caritas | 28. Tellus ac aethera |
| 13. Tunc percinxit se | 29. Domum istam |
| 14. Mulier quae erat | |
| 15. Maria ergo unxit | |
| 16. Dixit autem Jesus | |

Rouen s. XIII

1. Mandatum novum
2. Si ego Dominus
3. Vos vocatis me magister
4. In hoc cognoscent
5. In diebus illis
6. Maria ergo unxit
7. Diligamus nos
8. Ubi fratres in unum
9. Ubi est caritas
10. Domine, tu mihi lavas
11. *Ante diem festum*
12. *Venit ad Petrum*

Paris s. XIII

1. Mandatum novum
2. Diligamus nos
3. Postquam surrexit
4. In diebus illis
5. Si ego Dominus
6. In hoc cognoscent
7. Vos vocatis me magister
8. *Ante diem festum*
9. *Venit ad Petrum*

Sarum s. XIII

1. Mandatum novum
2. Diligamus nos
3. In diebus illis
4. Maria ergo unxit
5. Postquam surrexit
6. Vos vocatis me magister
7. Si ego Dominus
8. *Ante diem festum*
9. *Venit ad Petrum*

The outstanding mark of distinction of these sets of antiphons is, of course, that they end invariably in the versicles *Ante diem festum* and *Venit ad Petrum*. This is also true with regard to the set of Saint-Yrieix; for *Tellus ac aethera iubilent* is a hymn, and not an antiphon proper, which was very popular in the twelfth century at the eulogy after the *Mandatum*,¹⁷⁹ whereas *Domum istam* is an intention for the house, the monastery, which is an addi-

of Sarum, II (Cambridge, 1901), 164, for the *Ordinale Sarum* according to which the *Ante diem festum* antiphons were to be sung "si necesse fuerit . . . Sin autem pretermittantur." For a facsimile, see Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense* (Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 12194; London, 1894), fol. 48^{r-v}.

¹⁷⁹ See Bischoff, 169, n. 22; Bukofzer, 237.

tion frequently found in the monastic liturgies;¹⁸⁰ finally, *Benedicat Dominus* is a quite general request for the divine blessings.¹⁸¹ Moreover, the second antiphon — *Venit ad Petrum* — contains the versicle *Si non laverote, non habebis partem mecum*, and it ends in the versicle *Domine, non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput*, that is, in those statements which Ambrose considered decisive for the sacramental meaning of the Feet-washing and which, according to him, Rome regarded not too highly. Hence, the whole ceremony of the *Mandatum* ended in that line testifying to Peter's "devotion and faith" and, more specifically, in the word *caput*, a versicle which the Roman sets treated negligently or omitted completely in favor of the lines testifying to Peter's humility and to *caritas* in general. It should be mentioned also that in the non-Roman sets the *Caritas* idea is definitely of secondary importance: in the sets of Paris and Sarum the *Caritas* chant is absent and the idea is touched upon only in the second antiphon — *Diligamus nos invicem quia caritas ex Deo est*.¹⁸²

The most obvious feature distinguishing the non-Roman from the Roman sets, however, remains the couple of antiphons concluding the French and English series: *Ante diem festum* and *Venit ad Petrum*. When, how, and where these two antiphons were first linked together to form the end of the *Mandatum* ceremony remains to be ascertained. The scheme, however, is found mainly in France — in Saint-Yrieix, Paris, and Rouen — and in England in the rite of Sarum (Salisbury) on which English churches and monasteries depended in ever increasing numbers. The customs of Sarum "were as the sun in the heavens whose rays shed light upon other churches," claimed Bishop Aegidius of Salisbury (1256), and consequently the Sarum set of antiphons will be found, during and after the thirteenth century, in very many English liturgical manuscripts.¹⁸³ Liturgical connections between Rouen and Sarum are well known, and liturgical interrelations between Sarum, Normandy, and Sicily are likewise on record, as in the case of a peculiar *Exultet* finale.¹⁸⁴ More recently certain similarities between Sarum and the rite of Aquileia have been indicated.¹⁸⁵ All these observations, how-

¹⁸⁰ See, e.g., the *Laudes* of St. Gall for the imprecation *Istam congregationem*; Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 124, n. 37; or the line *Istam sedem* for the episcopal *Laudes*; *ibid.*, 113 f.

¹⁸¹ The versicle takes the place of the *Benedictio super Populum*, that is, at the very end of the holy action.

¹⁸² See Wilmart, "L'hymne de la charité" (above, n. 173), 29, who noticed the absence of the *Caritas* hymn in France.

¹⁸³ Bukofzer, 232.

¹⁸⁴ Kantorowicz, "A Norman Finale of the Exultet and the Rite of Sarum," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIV (1941), 129-143.

¹⁸⁵ Tommaso Leccissotti, "Il 'Missale monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis

ever, do not offer a clue for the origin of the couple of antiphons concluding the *Mandatum*, and no more can be said than that apparently the non-Roman series originated in France.

What matters here is not only the similarity of textual arrangements characterizing the French, Norman, and English *Mandatum* antiphons, but also — and above all — the stress by which that concluding couple of antiphons is distinguished, and which is completely lacking in the Roman usage. "Stress," in that case, is not used in a figurative sense and subjectively, but in a literal sense and objectively. For in those non-Roman concluding antiphons something is added that is most curious. Melismata — that is, richly ornamented cantillations — are as commonly found at the beginning of a musical phrase as they are rarely found at the end of a chant or on the last word.¹⁸⁶ It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that in the non-Roman sets of antiphons the natural stress, which concluding versicles bear anyhow, is multiplied by final melismata. That is to say, in the antiphon *Ante diem festum* the concluding word *discipulorum* is distinguished by a long melisma, just as in the final antiphon of the whole performance, *Venit ad Petrum*, the last word, *caput*, carries a melisma (figs. 59 and 60). To distinguish a word by a melisma would normally imply that the word was deemed particularly important. The musical stress laid by the melisma on the word *caput* finds an explanation in the iconography of the Feet-washing, and it may be useful to look once more at the pictorial representations of that scene. The "Roman" gesture of St. Peter, e.g., in the Gospel-book of Henry II (fig. 36), would hardly have suggested a melisma on *caput*. Contrariwise, the "Byzantine" gesture showing Peter pointing at his head, a gesture which began to spread to the West in the late tenth century and became dominant in the later Middle Ages, makes it very obvious how it happened that the word *caput* was also musically set off by that special emphasis which a melisma conveys. For unknown reasons the antiphon *Venit ad Petrum* was, in the non-Roman sets of antiphons, always coupled with the preceding *Ante diem festum*. Apparently the two antiphons were treated alike musically, resulting in a melisma on the last word of the penultimate antiphon, *discipulorum*. The musical adornment of *caput*, and in its wake *discipulorum*, is all the more startling since none of the other *Mandatum* antiphons has a melisma. In whatever way it be explained that only the concluding couple of non-Roman antiphons shows this musical ornamentation, the

Congregationis alias Sancte Iustine'." *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, V (Studi e Testi, 125; Vatican, 1946), 368, 372, 373, n. 20.

¹⁸⁶ Bukofzer, 238, whom I follow throughout in the present section.

emphasis laid on the word *caput* should not be severed from the iconographic evidence.

It was the *caput* melisma which Professor Bukofzer chanced upon in a Huntington Library manuscript, and which gave rise to his question about the meaning of the Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday, and therewith to the present investigation. His finding, on the other hand, ended the long guessing among musicologists trying to discover whence Dufay, Obrecht, and Okeghem borrowed the *cantus firmus* for their *Caput* Masses. It became strikingly clear that the non-Roman antiphon *Venit ad Petrum* was the source of Dufay's *Missa Caput*, whereas the two other Netherlandish composers followed Dufay. That Dufay had taken the *caput* melisma not from Paris or Rouen (not to mention Saint-Yrieix), but from Sarum, was more than likely anyhow. The English origin of Dufay's *cantus firmus*, however, has since been ascertained by new findings,¹⁸⁷ and thereby a new link has been established between the Netherlandish composers of the fifteenth century and the England of Dunstable.

It is a long way from Origen to Dufay, from the Baptism of the Apostles to the Netherlandish *Missa Caput*. It would be ridiculous to maintain that the Netherlandish composers, when selecting the *caput* melisma for their *cantus firmus*, had the slightest notion of how it happened that a melisma adorned the word *caput*. Nor would the late mediaeval painters, who simply continued an ancient and, by their times, traditional iconographic type, have known that St. Peter's gesture "hand to head" originally perhaps reflected a non-Roman or Oriental interpretation of the Maundy Thursday rites. The dichotomy between non-Roman and Roman practices, so powerfully voiced in the fourth century by both St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, and of some importance in their day, was no longer rationalized. Nevertheless, those early-Christian antinomies have left their marks, even though it is only by using many oddly shaped stepping-stones quarried from Eastern and Western rites, from archaeology and iconography, from theology and law, from liturgy and musicology, that we can trace the survival of exegetic differences to a substratum of which any single source would be silent.

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¹⁸⁷ Cf. Bukofzer, "*Caput redivivum*: A new Source for Dufay's *Missa Caput*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1951), 97-110.